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Reviews of Books

General History

<i>Schevill</i> , SIX HISTORIANS, by Guy Stanton Ford	886
<i>Amsler</i> , HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE DES EXPLORATIONS, Vol. II, by William Jerome Wilson	887
<i>Churchill</i> , A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES, Vol. II, THE NEW WORLD, by Caroline Robbins	888
<i>Hall</i> , THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION, by Crane Brinton	889
<i>Medlicott</i> , BISMARCK, GLADSTONE, AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE, by E. Malcolm Carroll	890
STUDIES IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY IN HONOR OF FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM, by Huntley Dupre	891

Ancient and Medieval History

<i>Mylonas</i> , ANCIENT MYCENAE, by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.	892
<i>Devoto, et al.</i> , DER AUFSTIEG EUROPAS, by Truesdell S. Brown	893
<i>Altheim, et al.</i> , FRÜHES MITTELALTER, by M. L. W. Laistner	895

Modern European History

<i>Plumb</i> , THE FIRST FOUR GEORGES, by Robert Livingston Schuyler	896
<i>James</i> , NORTH COUNTRY BISHOP, by Robert Walcott	897
<i>Young and Hancock</i> , eds., ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. XII, Pt. I, 1833-1874, by William O. Aydelotte	898
<i>Ehrman</i> , GRAND STRATEGY, by Forrest C. Pogue	899
HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, UNITED KINGDOM CIVIL SERIES, by Henry R. Winkler	901

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

Vol. LXII, No. 4

July, 1957

Articles

THE RISE OF SERFDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE

Jerome Blum

807

THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE FLEMISH LOW COUNTRIES
ON SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

John J. Murray

837

TRENDS OF UNITED STATES STUDIES IN
LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Charles Gibson and Benjamin Keen

855

Notes and Suggestions

THE JAMES GALLATIN DIARY: A FRAUD?

Raymond Walters, Jr.

878

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)

886

Other Recent Publications

952

Historical News

1043

Index to Volume LXII

1061

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam

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CONTENTS

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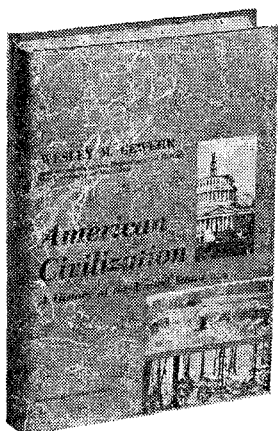
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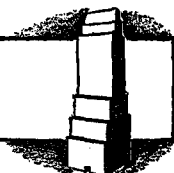
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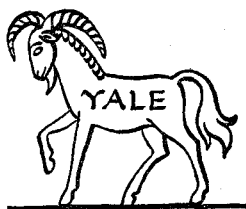
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Contents of Volume LXII

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1956

Articles

- CARL BECKER ON HISTORY. PROFESSOR BECKER'S
TWO HISTORIES: A SKEPTICAL FALLACY
Perez Zagorin 1
- ZAGORIN'S INTERPRETATION OF BECKER: SOME OB-
SERVATIONS *Leo Gershoy* 12
- PHILIP THE FAIR—A "CONSTITUTIONAL" KING
Joseph R. Strayer 18
- A CENTURY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE ORIGINS
OF THE CRIMEAN WAR *Brisson D. Gooch* 33

Notes and Suggestions

- A NOTE ON CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD'S SEARCH FOR
A GENERAL THEORY OF CAUSATION
William Appleman Williams 59
- THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDICINE IN AMERICAN HIS-
TORY *Richard H. Shryock* 81

Reviews of Books 92

Other Recent Publications 173

Historical News 272

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1957

Presidential Address

- WE SHALL GLADLY TEACH *Dexter Perkins* 291

Articles

- HAMILTON'S NOTES IN HIS PAY BOOK OF THE NEW
YORK STATE ARTILLERY COMPANY
E. E. Panagopoulos 310
- THE EXTRAORDINARY IDEAS OF ALEXANDER THE
GREAT *C. A. Robinson, Jr.* 326

Notes and Suggestions

- THE FAR EASTERN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
IN THE PERIOD OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR: A
RUSSIAN VIEW *Ernest R. May* 345
- THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY AS A
FIELD OF RESEARCH *Merle Curti* 352

Reviews of Books 364

Other Recent Publications 425

Historical News 512

NUMBER 3. APRIL, 1957

Articles

- EAST ASIAN VIEWS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY John K. Fairbank 527

- JACKSON MEN WITH FEET OF CLAY
Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. 537

- FRENCH FINANCE AND ITALIAN UNITY: THE CAVOURIAN DECADE Rondo E. Cameron 552

Notes and Suggestions

- ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE FOR POST-DOCTORAL HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION
Louise Carroll Wade 570

- Reviews of Books* 594

- Other Recent Publications* 652

- Historical News: Annual Meeting* 740

NUMBER 4. JULY, 1957

Articles

- THE RISE OF SERFDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE
Jerome Blum 807

- THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE FLEMISH LOW COUNTRIES ON SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND John J. Murray 837

- TRENDS OF UNITED STATES STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY Charles Gibson and Benjamin Keen 855

Notes and Suggestions

- THE JAMES GALLATIN DIARY: A FRAUD?
Raymond Walters, Jr. 878

- Reviews of Books* 886

- Other Recent Publications* 952

- Historical News* 1043

- Index to Volume LXII* 1061

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LXII, No. 4

July, 1957

The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe

JEROME BLUM

THE decline of serfdom in Western Europe in the same time span in which it was taking root east of the Elbe River is an often remarked upon paradox of early modern European history. This article is an effort to suggest explanations for this difference in the development of the lord-peasant relation in these two regions. The emphasis here is on the Eastern lands—Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. For convenience's sake, I have chosen to refer to these lands collectively as "Eastern Europe," although, of course, a number of them are sometimes included in Central Europe and although the countries of South-eastern Europe are not treated in this study. The history of the waning of serfdom in Western Europe is well known, so only a brief sketch is given here for purposes of comparison and contrast with the East.

Because the institution of serfdom was known in so many lands, and because it lived on in one place or another in Europe for over a thousand years,

it is well-nigh impossible to define it in precise terms that would have a pan-European application. The word "serf" or its equivalents were applied—on occasion in the same time and place—to a wide range of peasants, from people whose condition could scarcely be distinguished from that of chattel slaves to men who were nearly free. The presence or absence of certain dues or fines that had to be paid the seigneur has sometimes been proposed as a kind of litmus test of whether or not peasants were serfs, but these servile obligations were not infrequently demanded of men who are known to have been legally free. Often the serf is thought to have been a person who was bound to the soil, but this, too, is an inadequate, and for many times and places, even a mistaken concept. For the deepest and most complete form of serfdom was precisely when the lord was able (as he often was) to move his peasants about as he wished, transferring them from one holding to another, converting them into landless field hands or into household servants, or even selling, giving, or gambling them away without land.¹ On the other hand, there were periods in serfdom's history when the bondsman had the right to leave his holding, after giving notice to his lord, whereupon he became a free man.²

Nor is it any more accurate to define the serf as a person bound to the body of his lord, for this condition, too, was true only for certain times and places. In France, for example, the serf had once been attached to his lord by what Bloch has described as an indissoluble, almost corporeal bond that had nothing to do with any holding the serf might have. Thus, if a free man took over a holding formerly occupied by a serf, he remained free. In short, there was a clear distinction between personal status and tenure. Then, beginning in the thirteenth century, the "blemish of serfdom" began to adhere to the land rather than to the man, so that a free peasant who took over a tenement recognized as servile was regarded as a serf so long as he remained on the holding. Now tenure determined status. A similar development seems to have taken place in England.³ In Russia the development took just the

¹ Cf. Paul Vinogradov, *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 45, 57–58, 151, 165; Karl Grünberg, *Die Bauernbefreiung und die Auflösung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1894), I, 55–56; Georg F. Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 24–26; Stanislaw Kutrzeba, *Grundriss der polnischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, tr. from 3d Polish ed. (Berlin, 1912), pp. 13–14; Werner Conze, *Agrarverfassung und Bevölkerung in Litauen und Weissrussland* (Leipzig, 1940), I, 131; Francis L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 162–63; Vasilii I. Semevskii, *Krest'iane v tsarstvovanie Imperatritsy Ekateriny II* [Peasants in the reign of Empress Catherine II] (St. Petersburg, 1881, 1901), I, 148–51.

² Dmitri M. Odinetz, "Les origines du servage en Russie," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, 4^e ser., X (1931), 254; Marc Bloch, "Serf de la glèbe: Histoire d'une expression toute faite," *Rev. hist.*, CXXXVI (1921), 236.

³ Bloch, p. 236; Nellie Neilsen in *Cambridge Economic History* (Cambridge, 1941), I, 446. The *Cambridge Economic History* is hereafter cited as CEH.

opposite course, at least so far as the serfs of the *pomeshchiki* (the seigneurs holding on service tenure from the tsar) were concerned. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these serfs were bound to their holdings (except for certain special circumstances) and not to the person of the *pomeshchik*. But this came to be disregarded by the *pomeshchiki*, who began to move their peasants about and even to sell them without land. In the eighteenth century the crown gave legal sanction to these practices so that these serfs of the *pomeshchiki* became bound to the person of their seigneurs.⁴

There was, however, one feature common to European serfdom wherever and whenever it existed: a peasant was recognized as unfree if he was bound to the will of his lord by ties that were degrading and socially incapacitating and that (as Struve put it⁵) were institutional rather than contractual. In practice, this meant that the lord had legal jurisdiction over his peasants to the complete, or nearly complete, exclusion of the state, so that to all intents and purposes the only rights the peasants had were those that the lord was willing to allow them. Concomitants of this condition were that the peasants were unable to come and go as they pleased without their lord's permission and that the lord could demand whatever obligations he wanted. In actuality, it was a general, although far from universal, rule for these obligations to be fixed and even minutely defined by custom, but it was possible for the seigneur to increase or decrease them, change their nature, or to command that they be performed in any order he wished. Yet the power of the lord over his serfs was not so great as to deprive them of their legal personality. Herein lay the difference between serf and slave. The serf, even when his status fell so low that he could be bought and sold without land, still had certain individual rights, albeit severely curtailed. The slave, no matter how well off he might be—and there were periods, e.g., seventeenth-century Russia, when at least some slaves seem to have enjoyed greater social and economic advantages than did serfs—was in the eyes of the law not a person but a chattel of his owner.

A sign of the waning of serfdom was when the central power began to intrude itself between lord and serf, chipping away at the former's legal and administrative powers and establishing norms for the obligations he could demand of his peasants. Conversely, the withdrawal of the sovereign from interference in the lord-peasant relation doomed a free peasantry to serfdom.

⁴ *Sobranie uzakonenii russkago gosudarstva* [Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire], E. P. Karnovich, ed. (St. Petersburg, 1875), I, Law code of 1649, ch. xi, art. 30, ch. xvi, art. 7; V. I. Semevskii, *Krest'ianskii vopros v Rossii v XVIII i pervoi polovine XIX veka* [The peasant problem in Russia in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries] (St. Petersburg, 1888), II, 5-6.

⁵ Petr B. Struve, in *CEH*, I, 435.

At the beginning of the twelfth century most of the peasants in Western Europe were serfs. By the end of the thirteenth century many of them had become free or had won partial release from their bonds. By the sixteenth century all, or nearly all, of the peasants in many lands and regions were entirely free, while in the rest of Western Europe their dependence upon their seigneurs was much less than it had been three centuries before.⁶ This phenomenon was played out against a backdrop of two great secular swings in economic life: the prosperity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the depression of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Western Europe were years of expansion, marked by increasing population, the growth of old cities and the founding of new ones, the bringing into cultivation of much new land, the spread of the use of money, and rising prices. These developments set off sweeping changes in the organization of the predominantly self-sufficient manorial economy. The opportunities offered by the growth of demand and the rising price levels stimulated some lords to produce directly for the market. But the majority of seigneurs, impelled by their growing need for cash resulting from the increased use of money and the higher standard of living, abandoned their own agricultural operations and converted the obligations owed them by their peasants into money payments. Apparently, they believed they could realize a greater gain, and at the same time save themselves much work and trouble, by becoming rent receivers rather than by producing for sale. In addition, the inducements offered to attract settlers to new lands that were being opened up and the offer of freedom made by the cities to the people who came to live in them compelled lords to grant concessions to their peasants to keep them from running off. These concessions usually took the form of commuting dues and services into cash and of general improvement in peasant status and tenure.

As a result of these seigneurial adjustments to the changed conditions, by the later thirteenth century many serfs had become free tenants, paying a money rent. Others who did not win complete freedom were relieved of all or many of the old obligations. Even those whose only gain was the conversion of their labor service into money dues were better off, for now they were freed of the many abuses that had often attended the performance of

⁶ Josef Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Munich and Berlin, 1928-1929), I, 136-52; Eileen Power, "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions (c. 1100 to c. 1500)," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 719; Edward P. Cheyney, "The Disappearance of English Serfdom," *English Hist. Rev.*, XV (1900), 20; Henri Sée, *Les classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1901), pp. 201-207, 260-62, 277-78; François L. Ganshof, "Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: France, the Low Countries, and Western Germany," *CEH*, I, 317-18, 320; Alfred J. Doren, *Italienische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1934), I, 211-17.

this obligation; they could spend all their time on their own work (or nearly all, for when the labor service was retained it was only for a few days a year); and the real value of their fixed commutation fees declined because of the price rise. Studies based on partial data for England indicate that by the turn of the thirteenth century one third to one half of the peasants there were free. In France serfs apparently formed a minority of the total peasant population, and in Flanders the process of emancipation had been just about completed. In Western Germany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the peasantry had not advanced so far on the road to freedom, but their status was improved over what it had been. There were seigneurs in these lands, especially those who chose to engage in production for market, who imposed heightened labor obligations on their peasants and sometimes even reduced free men to the status of serfs, but these cases represented exceptions to the general trend of the lord-peasant relation of the era.⁷

In contrast to the prosperity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were times of severe economic contraction in most of Western Europe. The depression, which was especially marked from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, was primarily agricultural. Grain prices showed a long secular decline, land prices fell sharply, and above all, there was a great shrinkage in the amount of tilled land. Abandoned holdings became a major feature of the rural landscape. Investigators of this protracted slump attribute it primarily to a drop in European population and a resulting decline in demand.⁸ Yet, remarkably enough, the process of emancipation, instituted under the stimulus of the preceding boom period, was continued, and in some lands carried to completion, largely because of these hard times of the late Middle Ages. Seigneurial revenues declined because the abandoned holdings produced a drop in their rental incomes and because lords reduced obligations in an effort to hold their peasants and to attract new ones to take over empty tenements. The incomes

⁷ Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 109-14, 119-24; Power, pp. 727-28; Ganshof, pp. 290-96, 312, 317, 320; See pp. 202-207, 245-53, 260-62, 267-74, 276-78, 617-22; Cheyney, p. 20; Evgenii A. Kosminsky, "Services and Money Rents in the Thirteenth Century," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, V (1935), 32-38, 40-41, 43-44; Georg A. H. von Below, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters* (Jena, 1937), pp. 70-74; Hans Nabholz, "Medieval Agrarian Society in Transition," *CEH*, I, 499, 511, 529.

⁸ The outstanding work dealing with this depression is Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1955). Cf. also Friedrich Lütge, "Das 14./15. Jahrhundert in der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CLXII (1950); Michael Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North," *CEH*, II; *id.*, "Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CLXVI (1954); *id.*, "Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., II (1950); *id.*, "Revisions in Economic History: The Fifteenth Century," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, IX (1939). For the fall in urban population see Karl F. Helleiner, "Europas Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft im späteren Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXII (1954).

of those seigneurs who produced for the market, or who sold part of the goods they received as payments in kind from their peasants, fell because of the price decline. Moreover, operating costs of the lords who raised goods for sale rose, because the population decrease and the consequent scarcity of hired labor forced up wages. Meanwhile, the prices of most nonagricultural goods that the lords purchased apparently fell less than did farm prices, other nonagricultural prices seemed to have remained unchanged, and some actually went up. The lords tried to escape their unfavorable position by such devices as borrowing heavily, seeking governmental or military posts, persuading their governments to set maximums on prices and wages, leasing out their demesnes, shifting from grain to sheep, attempting a "manorial reaction" by reimposing heavy dues and restrictions, and even resorting to banditry.⁹

The continuing concessions made by the seigneurs to keep their present tenants and to attract new ones freed those who still were bound of many of the old obligations, or commuted them into money payments, and improved their tenures. Still others won freedom by going to a town or to another manor where they were given free leaseholds; some gained it because the death toll of the plagues of the fourteenth century had broken the continuity in the keeping of the manor rolls on many estates, so that seigneurs were sometimes unable to prove the servile status of their peasants; and some were freed by royal fiat. By the sixteenth century, serfdom had disappeared in most of Western Europe and where it was retained was generally much less onerous than it had once been.¹⁰

To gain an understanding of the development of serfdom in Eastern Europe it is necessary to go back to the era of colonization, when, beginning in the twelfth century, many Germans began to infiltrate across the Elbe and when increasing numbers of Russians moved northeastward out of the Dnieper valley into the forested tableland bounded by the Oka and Volga Rivers. The scanty data on life in Eastern Germany before the colonization indicate that the land belonged to men of the upper class and that the peasantry were bound to the soil or were entirely unfree.¹¹ In Livonia (modern

⁹ Lütge, pp. 184-85, 201-205; Power, p. 734; Nabholz, pp. 538-54; Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 144, 146; Ephraim Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (London, 1945), I, 145-47; Georg Caro, "Probleme der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, V (1907), 442-43.

¹⁰ Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 118-19, 120-22, 136-37, 145-47, 149-51, 153; Nabholz, pp. 530-33; Cheyney, pp. 29-30; Lipson, I, 129-30. Despite the improvements in their condition, peasants in nearly every Western European land revolted during this era. It has been suggested that these risings came because of the amelioration, for, as has often been observed, it is then that the handicaps and injustices of an inferior status are felt most keenly. Nabholz, pp. 500, 560-61; Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 154-55.

¹¹ Hermann Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe and German Colonization Eastwards," *CEH*, I, 362.

Estonia and Latvia), the non-noble population had been divided between free cultivators with a hereditary right to their holdings and the unfree.¹² In Poland, the rural population on the eve of the German colonization included a decreasing number of free peasants who owned their own land, free peasant renters, and slaves. The last-named class had been increasing mainly because a long series of wars had provided many war captives who were the chief source of slaves, although people were also enslaved for debt or as punishment for a crime, and there were some who voluntarily became slaves for protection. Some of these unfree people rendered constant service to their owners, while others were settled on the land. As time went on, the distinction between the landed slaves and the free renters began to become blurred, for they lived together on the estate and paid the same kinds of dues and obligations. The chief differences were that the free man had the right of freedom of movement and his obligations were fixed, while the unfree peasant could move only with the lord's permission and had to do whatever the lord demanded. Actually, the slaves were protected from undue exploitation by custom and by the lord's realization that his bondsmen would flee if he pressed them too hard.¹³

In Bohemia, too, the rural population had been divided between free men and slaves. The majority had been free and had owned their land, although some were renters of large proprietors. The slaves were recruited from war prisoners and from criminals. By the end of the twelfth century, as a result of the growth of large-scale landowning by members of the ruling class, all save a few of the free men had become renters, holding their land in return for obligations paid the landlord. They still could move about as they wished, but they had become subject to the lord's court although they could appeal a seigniorial decision to the royal courts. Some of them had obtained a hereditary right to the use of their holdings, but many were tenants at the lord's will and could be dispossessed by him whenever he chose. There were still many slaves, though some had been settled on the land and their position began to approach that of the free peasant renters.¹⁴

Similarly, the rural population of Silesia at the time the German colonization began was made up of peasant renters and slaves. The condition of

¹² Arveds Schwabe, *Agrarian History of Latvia* (Riga, 1929), pp. 13-14.

¹³ Adam Krasinski, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Bauern-Verhältnisse* (Cracow, 1898), I, 34, 170-71; Kutrzeba, pp. 12-15; K. von Rakowski, *Entstehung des Grossgrundbesitzes im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert in Polen* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 8-9; Jan Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne avant les partages*, tr. from Polish (Paris, 1927), p. 22.

¹⁴ František Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen* (Prague, 1836-1867), I, 168-73; II, Pt. I, 31; Anton N. Iasinskii, *Ocherki i issledovaniia po sotsial'noi i ekonomicheskoi istorii chekhii v srednie veka* [Outlines and investigations in the social and economic history of the Czechs in the Middle Ages] (Iuriev, 1901), I, 244-45; Ernest Denis, *Fin de l'indépendance bohême* (Paris, 1890), I, 253; Wilhelm Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht der bauerlichen Kolonisten Böhmens und Mährens im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, LI (1913), 480-82.

the renters there, however, was inferior to what it was in Bohemia. Their obligations were unfixed, they were unable to leave without the permission of the lord, and they were his tenants at will. As in Bohemia, some of the slaves had been settled on the land.¹⁵ In Hungary, after the Magyar invasion the peasants, except for slaves, had been free, but in the succeeding centuries their status deteriorated and their holdings became absorbed by the estates of the nobles and gentry. In the thirteenth century a legally uniform peasant class was created. The members of this group were guaranteed personal freedom and the right to own movable property but were settled on the lands of the seigneurs and were bound to the performance of certain obligations. Increasing numbers of the slaves were assimilated with this class. In Lithuania most of the peasantry owned their farms, but after the Christianization of the country and the union with Poland, peasant land was absorbed by noble estates and the legal position of the peasantry became steadily worse.¹⁶

In Russia the status of a large sector of the peasantry had declined during the tenth to thirteenth centuries (the Kievan era) with the development of large-scale private landowning. Many of the once free peasant communes had been absorbed into estates owned by the princes and by clerical and lay lords, and the people had been reduced to renters, landless laborers, indentured workers, and even slaves. A distinction began to be made between these peasants and those who still lived in their own free communes, with the former being considered of an inferior and dependent status.¹⁷

The general pattern that emerges from this survey is a trend toward the loss of their old freedoms by a large part of the peasantry in these lands of Eastern Europe. But this tendency was reversed—for a time—in Eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, and Lithuania, by the influx of German colonists that began in the twelfth century, and in Russia by the migration from the Dnieper region into the Oka-Volga triangle.

The sovereigns and seigneurs of the countries to which the German colonists migrated were eager for the new settlers to come, not only because they would increase the population but also because the technical skill of the Germans, gained from their experience with the more advanced state of economic development in the West, was superior to that of the native popula-

¹⁵ Felix Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte der Grundherrschaft in Schlesien," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germanistische Abt., XVI (1895), 185-86; Günter Dessmann, *Geschichte der schlesischen Agrarverfassung* (Strassburg, 1904), pp. 10-13.

¹⁶ Alexandre Domanovszky, "Zur Geschichte der Gutsherrschaft in Ungarn," *Wirtschaft und Kultur: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Alfons Dopsch* (Baden bei Wien, Leipzig, 1938), pp. 443-44, 449, 450; J. Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 405-406; Zenonas Ivinskis, *Geschichte des Bauernstandes in Litauen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 39-62.

¹⁷ Jerome Blum, "The Beginnings of Large-Scale Private Landownership in Russia," *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 781-90; *id.*, "The Smerd in Kievan Russia," *American Slavic and East European Rev.*, XII (1953), 125-29.

tion. That meant there would be greater yields from the land and thus increased revenues for the princes and the seigneurs and the establishment of new towns and the growth of old ones would be promoted. The colonists, for their part, could be persuaded to come only if they received assurances that they would be rid of princely and seigneurial burdens that weighed upon them at home and that they would get more land for themselves, under better terms.

The lords of the host countries were willing to meet these conditions. The settlers were allowed to organize their towns and villages according to what was called the "German law" rather than according to local law and custom. The German codes the colonists adopted as models—several were used—allowed greater freedom and autonomy than was permitted to the natives of the lands in which they settled. Most of the newcomers had not enjoyed the protection and privileges guaranteed by these statutes before they migrated, but they seized the opportunity now offered them. When they founded their new villages they formed communes, each headed by a mayor who was usually the promoter who had recruited them in their homelands. The mayor, whose office was hereditary, ran the communal government and was head of the village court. This court made its decisions according to the German law and was independent of the lord on whose land the village was located. The colonists received their holdings either directly from the sovereign, or from church and lay lords, on free hereditary tenure. Their rental obligations were fixed and were simple and few, with labor services exceptional and at most for only a few days a year. Moreover, they usually received exemptions from all payments of dues and services for as long as twenty years after first settlement. Although they were renters, and so did not get title to their tenements, they were able to sell the use of their land to others, and they had a hereditary right to the use of their holding. They were in no way bound, being able to move from their village and holding at will, save that they were required to have met all their obligations and to have left the holding in good condition. As a general rule, the departing peasant was supposed to find a suitable replacement, but with so many colonists streaming in this must have been easy to do. The obligations they owed the sovereign of the land in which they settled were very small, and sometimes they had to pay none.¹⁸

¹⁸ Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe," p. 378; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 29–31, 39–42, 63–64, 88; Palacky, II, Pt. I, 93–94, 159–60; Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht," pp. 499, 504, 509; Dessmann, pp. 19–22, 25; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 112–13; Krasinski, I, 40–63; Kutrzeba, pp. 36–38; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, pp. 27–29; M. J. Warszawski, *Die Entwicklung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisse in Polen und die Bauernfrage im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1914), pp. 8 n., 9; Rutkowski in *CEH*, pp. 416–17; Walter Kuhn, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung in der Neuzeit* (Köln, Graz, 1955), I, 147.

These inducements, combined with the pressure of growing population west of the Elbe, persuaded great numbers of Germans to seek new homes in the broad eastern reaches of the Baltic plain and in Bohemia and Hungary. The native population of these regions was small and little of the soil was tilled, and that poorly, so that there was plenty of room for the newcomers. The colonization movement was well organized; professional agents were hired by princes and private lords to recruit settlers. Some notion of the size of this eastward movement is gained by estimates that 1,400 villages with a total population of about 150,000 were established in East Prussia alone¹⁹ and another 150-180,000 settled in Silesia.²⁰

Initially, the extensive concessions given the German newcomers distinguished them sharply from the mass of the native peasantry. But it was not too long after their arrival before the privileges of the Germans began to be extended to the people among whom they had settled. The competition between landlords for peasants in this age of expansion compelled the seigneurs to make concessions to the native population. Moreover, the lords were perhaps all the more willing to do this because, as will be pointed out below, the granting of the privileges of the German law was a major step in advancing seigneurial, and reducing royal, power over the peasants. Another advantage that accrued to both peasants and lords was that under the German law the peasants' obligations to the state were greatly reduced, leaving the peasant more for himself and, ultimately, more for his lord. So from the thirteenth century on, the autochthons in Eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, and northern Hungary began to enjoy all or part of the privileges that had at first been extended only to the German newcomers. The transformation proceeded rapidly—in Bohemia, for example, all save a very few of the Slav villages were said to have been under the German law within a century after the inception of German colonization of that land. In fact, groups of native peasants were apparently sometimes sent out as colonists—probably because the colonizers could not get enough German settlers—and established new so-called "German villages" under the "German law."²¹

The result of this extension of the rights of the German colonists to native peasants was a general improvement in their status and tenure. Now, instead of the conditions of rural life being determined by the will of the

¹⁹ Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe," pp. 396-97.

²⁰ Dessman, p. 16.

²¹ Palacky, II, Pt. I, 160; Werner Stark, *Ursprung und Aufstieg des landwirtschaftlichen Grossbetriebs in den böhmischen Ländern* (Brünn, 1934), p. 13; Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht," p. 525; F. L. Carsten, "Slavs in North-Eastern Germany," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, XI (1941), 61-75; Zygmunt Wojciechowski, "La condition des nobles et le problème de la féodalité en Pologne au moyen âge," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, XVI (1937), 75; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, pp. 30-31; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 64-65, 125-26; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 417.

seigneurs, most of the indigenes in the lands of German colonization became hereditary tenants with fixed obligations and rental agreements made by free arrangements between themselves and their landlords. They were allowed to form village communes with their own mayors and courts, were relieved of many of the services they formerly had paid the sovereign, and had the right of coming and going as they pleased. True, most of those Bohemian and Polish peasants who had been owners of their holdings were converted into tenants, but the number of these peasant proprietors had been steadily diminishing before the colonization era. Far more important, the serfdom that had held so many of the native peasantry and that had been on the increase before the Germans came, all but disappeared. So did slavery, for just about all of the descendants of the thralls of the earlier period had risen into the free renter class. In Prussia rebellious natives had been enserfed by the Teutonic Order at the time of the conquest, but by the fourteenth century they had become assimilated with the German peasantry and the marks of their bondage had been abolished.²²

After the conquest of Livonia by German crusading orders in the thirteenth century, Germans became the landlords and burghers, but only a small number of German peasants were settled on the land. The rights of the free native peasantry to the hereditary use of their holdings continued to be recognized, slavery was done away with, and those who were regarded as unfree had relatively light burdens and restrictions placed upon them by their lords.²³ After the Polish-Lithuanian Union of 1385, the German law had been applied in the more important towns of Lithuania and White Russia. Out in the country, however, it was adopted only in the province of Podlachia, which, lying next to Poland, was open to direct Polish influences and was separated from the rest of Lithuania by still unsettled wilderness.²⁴

So as a result of the German colonization, itself in large part a consequence of the population growth in Western Europe during the prosperity of the High Middle Ages, peasants of Eastern Germany, Livonia, Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, and in parts of Lithuania and Hungary came to enjoy more freedom in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than the great majority of them had known in the immediately preceding era, or were to know for

²² Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 38-39, 66-69; Wojciechowski, p. 75; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 26; Krasinski, I, 172-73; Palacky, II, Pt. I, 158, II, Pt. II, 26-27, 30-31, III, Pt. II, 38-39; Stark, p. 13; Adolf Bachmann, *Geschichte Böhmens* (Gotha, 1899-1905), II, 88-89; Friederich von Bezold, *Zur Geschichte des Husitentums* (Munich, 1874), pp. 56-57; Iasinskii, I, 323-24; Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, 1955), p. 42.

²³ Heinrich Bosse, *Der livländische Bauer am Ausgang der Ordenszeit* [Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte, XXIV] (Riga, 1933), pp. 339, 455; Schwabe, pp. 21-25, 30-34, 40-41.

²⁴ Conze, I, 63.

many centuries to come. In addition to being responsible for these improvements in peasant status, the German colonists deserve most of the credit for promoting the economic development of the lands to which they migrated. The people of the East had been far behind Western Europe. Relatively few in number and with much land at their disposal, they had carried on a primitive form of agriculture, using such extensive systems as slash-burn and field grass husbandry with no regular pattern of field rotation. They often were more active in cattle raising, hunting, and fishing, than in settled tillage, and raised relatively little grain. Their cities and towns were few and small and, in general, there was little development of urban life and industry. The German colonists, stimulated by the inducements offered by the owners of the land on which they were invited to settle and equipped with superior technical knowledge and tools, cleared and reclaimed land, built dikes, introduced innovations such as windmills, the three-field system, and better farm implements, and established and peopled new towns and cities. Their example of industry and efficiency and their innovations were adopted by the native peasants, who, with their improvement in status and tenure, now had new incentives. As a result, settled farming with regular field systems and with emphasis on grain culture became much more common in the eastern lands to which the Germans came, and the new urban centers served as markets and distributing points for the output of the new agriculture.²⁵

In Russia the decline of the Kievan federation in the twelfth and thirteenth century and the colonization of the northeast in these centuries by migrants from the Dnieper valley, reversed the trend toward deterioration in the condition of the peasantry, just as the German colonization had done farther west. The Russian princes who held sway in the Oka-Volga triangle sought to increase the size and strength of their realms and to aggrandize their revenues, by inducing settlers to come in and clear the forests and push out the ill-defined frontiers of their princedoms. They invited peasants to settle as free renters holding directly from the prince, offering them long exemptions from all obligations, light dues when they did have to start paying them, communal autonomy, and freedom of movement. Private and church lords who established manors in the new regions also made similar bids, although usually not including as much communal autonomy. Slavery continued, but as in the rest of Eastern Europe, the slaves began to be settled

²⁵ Werner Wittich, "Epochen der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (Tübingen, 1922), VII, 14; G. von Below, "Die Haupttatsachen der älteren deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1920), p. 43; Aubin, "Medieval German Society," p. 397; Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 257-58; Warszawski, pp. 7-8, 10-11; Conze, I, 62-63.

on the land in return for payments to their masters, and soon their status began to approximate that of the free renters.²⁶

At the end of the centuries of expansion, the peasants of Eastern Europe, like those of the West, seemed headed toward continued improvement in their condition. But in the succeeding era of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries East and West followed diverging roads, one leading to more serfdom and the other to freedom. The exiguity of the data leaves much in the dark about the economic history of Eastern Europe during these last centuries of the Middle Ages, but the available evidence seems to indicate clearly that the lands east of the Elbe, like those to the west, were going through a long period of depression and contraction. The onset of the slump was apparently heralded by the drying up of the stream of colonists when the decline in western European population ended the pressure that had induced people to move from their crowded homelands to the thinly settled East. It has been suggested that the downturn in economic life in the East was not as severe as it was in the West, but the available information, particularly for the fifteenth century, points to a very sizable slump, above all in agriculture, and a major decline in population. This was evidenced by the increasing scarcity of peasant renters and laborers, by falling grain prices, and, above all, by the large number of abandoned holdings. From the Elbe all the way across to the Volga, the sources of the period tell of depopulated villages and empty homesteads and of the efforts made by princes and lords to find and hold peasants to till their empty fields. The loss in population was brought on, apparently, by the same kinds of causes that produced the population fall in the West, for the records of the era for all the Eastern lands are filled with accounts of wars, invasions, feuds, civil strife, plagues, and crop failures.²⁷

The landed nobility and gentry, dependent for their incomes primarily

²⁶ Alexandre Eck, *Le moyen âge Russe* (Paris, 1933), pp. 86, 275-76, 301-304; J. Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1925), I, 77-80, 210-12; Vasilii I. Sergeevich, *Drevnosti russkago prava* [The ancient times of Russian law] (St. Petersburg, 1909-1911), I, 233-34; Boris D. Grekov, *Krest'iane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka* [The peasants in Russia from the earliest times to the 17th century] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1946), pp. 515-26.

²⁷ Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe," pp. 196-97, 207, 209-10; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 101-102, 106-107; Martin A. L. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern* (Gotha, 1904-1906), I, 174-210; Heinz Maybaum, "Die Entstehung der Gutsherrschaft im nordwestlichen Mecklenburg," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft VI (1926), 114-16; Kuhn, I, 70-72; Palacky, III, Pt. III, 333-34, V, Pt. I, 296-97; Dessman, pp. 46-47; Domanovszky, p. 455; Schwabe, pp. 41-43; Bosse, p. 355; Marian Malowist, "Le commerce de la Baltique et le problème des luttes sociales en Pologne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles," *La Pologne au X^e Congrès international des sciences historiques à Rome* (Warsaw, 1955), p. 132; Julian Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369-1600* [Prices in Cracow in the years 1369-1600] (Lvov, 1935), p. 174; Maksim M. Kowalewsky, *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas* (Berlin, 1901-1914), V, 435-36; Gustav Alef, *A History of the Muscovite Civil War* (MS dissertation, Princeton University, 1956) pp. 371-75; Ivinskis, pp. 64-73, 153.

upon the payments in cash and kind made them by their peasants, like their analogues in Western Europe were especially exposed to the effects of the depression and depopulation. Their position was worsened by a fall in the value of the currency in Mecklenburg, Prussia, Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. This monetary depreciation reduced the value of the cash dues and rents received by the landlords. Those seigneurs who sold goods on the market suffered additionally because of the price decline. In some lands, e.g., Bohemia and Russia, the situation grew so bad that many lords were unable to hold on to their manors, so that there was much turnover of property.²⁸

Eastern European seigneurs, like those of the West, searched for avenues of escape from the deterioration in their economic condition. Some of their efforts were the same as those made in Western Europe. In Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Livonia they tried to hold down the price of labor by having their sovereigns impose wage ceilings; in Poland maximums were set on the prices of city goods; they borrowed heavily, as in Mecklenburg and Russia; and in Eastern Germany, in Silesia, and in Poland some nobles turned to brigandage.²⁹

But they also adopted measures which were not used in the West, and it was precisely these steps which led to the ultimate enserfment of the peasantry. Instead of reducing obligations, as was the general practice in the West where the lords tried to hold their peasants and attract new ones by asking less of them, seigneurs in Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Lithuania imposed new and heavier obligations, notably in the form of labor dues and cash payments.³⁰ Another way in which the response of Eastern lords to the shortage of renters and laborers differed from the West was the manner in which they handled the problem of peasant freedom of movement. In the West the peasants were able to gain increased personal liberty from their seigneurs in this period. In Eastern Europe, in every one of the states discussed here, from the mid-fourteenth century, and especially during the course of the fifteenth century, steady encroachments were made upon the right of the peasant to come and go as he pleased. In land after land the

²⁸ Hans Rosenberg, "The Rise of the Junkers in Brandenburg-Prussia," *American Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (1944), 230-31; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 112; Palacky, III, Pt. II, 298-99; Malowist, p. 132; Illarion I. Kaufman, *Serebrianyi rubl v Rossii ot ego vozniknoveniia do kontsa XIX veka* [The silver ruble in Russia from its origin to the end of the 19th century] (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 13, 26-28; Maybaum, p. 108; Stepan B. Veselovskii, *Feodal'noe zemlevladienie v severo-vostochnoi Rusi* [Feudal landowning in north-east Russia] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1947), I, 78, 165-69; Kuhn, I, 146; Denis, I, 256.

²⁹ Kuhn, I, 146-49; Malowist, p. 132; Maybaum, pp. 112, 116-18; Stanislaw Hoszowski, *Les prix à Lwow* (Paris, 1954), p. 15.

³⁰ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 104-105, 108-109; Maybaum, pp. 108-109; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," p. 133; Walther Maas, "Zur Entwicklung der polnischen Agrarstruktur vom XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrsch. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XX (1928), 494; Denis, I, 255-56; Ivinskis, pp. 162-63; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 410-11.

same kind of restrictions came to be imposed, although in some places their number was greater and their details more elaborate than in others. In Poland, Prussia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lithuania peasants were forbidden to leave their holdings without the permission of their masters, and in Russia they could depart only at a certain time.³¹ Peasant renters in Prussia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland were required to provide a suitable replacement and pay up all arrears before they could give up their tenements, and in Russia they had to pay a large fee.³² In Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Livonia, Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Russia lords were forbidden to lure away peasants from other seigneurs, or agreed not to accept one another's peasants, and were supposed to return runaways who had settled on their estates to their original lords;³³ severe punishments were ordained in Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia for the runaways and sometimes for those who received them.³⁴ Cities in Prussia, Pomerania, and Bohemia were ordered not to receive peasants who could not prove they had their lord's permission to leave their villages,³⁵ and treaties were made between neighboring sovereigns in Prussia, Poland, Livonia, and Russia agreeing not to take peasants from one another's realm and to return fugitives.³⁶ Peasant indebtedness was also used in Livonia and Russia as a device to hold peasants. The hard times and the war devastation had compelled many renters to borrow from their lords and the terms of repayment often bound these debtors to their seigneur-creditor.³⁷ Still another method, employed in Lithuania, Russia, and, apparently, in Livonia, was to deny freedom of movement to a peasant who had remained on a holding for a certain length of time, e.g., thirty to forty years.³⁸

By the end of the fifteenth century then, from the Elbe to the Volga, most of the peasantry were well on their way to becoming serfs. During the next century both obligations and restrictions continued to be increased, so that by the end of the sixteenth century the process of enserfment was just about

³¹ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Kuhn, I, 148; Palacky, V, Pt. I, 297; Eck, pp. 306-308; Conze, I, 49; Grünberg, I, 101-102; Krasinski, I, 66-67.

³² Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 103; Krasinski, I, 66-68; Stark, pp. 58-59; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 117-18; Art. 57, *Sudebnik* of 1497 in *Akademiia Nauk, Sudebniki XV-XVI vekov* [Academy of Sciences, The law codes of the 15th and 16th centuries] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1952), p. 27.

³³ Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 151; Ivinskis, p. 113; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Kuhn, I, 147-48; Bosse, pp. 358-59; Conze, I, 49; Stark, p. 59; Rakowski, p. 15; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 405.

³⁴ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103-104; Palacky, V, 292-93; Warszawski, p. 25.

³⁵ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Bachmann, II, 733.

³⁶ Kuhn, I, 148; Bosse, p. 364; Power, p. 736; Sergeevich, I, 235.

³⁷ Bosse, pp. 355-65; Ivinskis, pp. 30-31; A. Eck, "Les non-libres dans la Russie du moyen âge," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., IX (1930), 40-41.

³⁸ Conze, I, 49; Schwabe, p. 44; Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 210-12.

completed, even though the laws that spelled this out were not issued in some lands until the seventeenth century, and even though there were still groups of peasants who had managed to escape the lot of their fellows.

Why was the fate of the rustics east of the Elbe so different from that of the Western peasantry? Why was the promising growth of improved conditions in the prosperous twelfth and thirteenth centuries subverted in the succeeding centuries? Why did the economic downturn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries not evoke the same changes in the lord-peasant relation that it did in the West?

The answers to these questions are provided, I believe, by four developments in Eastern Europe that went on contemporaneously and that were interrelated in a manner unique to this vast region. These four developments were: first, the increase in the political power of the nobility, and especially of the lesser nobility; second, the growth of seigneurial jurisdictional powers over the peasantry living on their manors; third, the shift made by lords from being rent receivers to becoming producers for the market; and, finally, the decline of the cities and of the urban middle class.

Though the extent to which the nobility, and particularly its lower ranks, was able to dominate the political life and administration of the respective states and the form its supremacy took varied, the phenomenon was common to all of the major Eastern lands. The nobles' rise to political power began to evidence itself in some lands in the fourteenth, became much more prominent in the fifteenth, and continued on into the sixteenth century. This, of course, was precisely the era when in the West the new monarchies were establishing themselves on the ruins of the feudal order. In striking contrast, the political ascendancy of the Eastern nobility, with the exception of Russia, was at the expense of the sovereign. This weakening of the central power was attributable, variously, to foreign and civil wars, dynastic rivalries and ambitions, and the increasing financial stringency brought on by unsuccessful military ventures and by the decline in princely revenues caused by the depression of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Candidates for empty thrones gave nobles bribes, gifts of villages, and promises of wide concessions to win their votes in the elections of monarchs, and gave still more to hold their support after they were chosen. Sovereigns sold and pawned crown lands to nobles to raise needed cash, borrowed from nobles, granted them new and broader powers in state administration in return for their acquiescence in the introduction of new fiscal measures to relieve pinched princely purses, and supported the nobles in their struggle for supremacy over the cities and in their demands for greater powers over their peasants. The

nobility, for its part, did not hesitate to demand the highest possible price for its support, feeling no compunctions about filling power vacuums that appeared as the central authority weakened or taking over prerogatives formerly reserved for the sovereign or the greatest lords.³⁹

In Russia a strong central power emerged from the political anarchy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the persons of the princes of Moscow who, in the latter part of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, established themselves as the supreme rulers of the Russian land. But the new tsars, as the Muscovite sovereigns now called themselves, had won their eminence over rival princes and the great nobility who had contested for power with them only with the support of the lesser boyars and the gentry. In return for their assistance, these men were rewarded with land and peasants and with increasingly extensive privileges and were raised to positions of eminence in the state's administration. And so in Russia, despite the establishment of a royal autocracy, the nobility, and particularly the lesser nobility, gained in political power and formed a cohesive group sharing the same general interests.⁴⁰

The growth of the political influence of the nobles was of critical importance for the ultimate appearance of serfdom in Eastern Europe. It gave them the power to make successful demands of their sovereigns for a freer hand in dealing with their peasants. As a consequence, there was a progressive withdrawal of the state from the lord-peasant relationship in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This left the way open for the seigneurs to solve the labor problems raised by the depression of the fifteenth and the prosperity of the sixteenth centuries by gradually converting their erstwhile free tenants into serfs.

The second crucial development in the establishment of serfdom in Eastern Europe was the growth of seigneurial jurisdictional and administrative privileges. This phenomenon was intimately associated with the political dependence of the central power upon the nobility's support, for in allowing these powers to the seigneurs the rulers were voluntarily yielding many of their sovereign rights over the mass of their subjects.

³⁹ Rosenberg, pp. 6, 15, 232; Maybaum, pp. 147-49; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 112, 165, 168-69; J. Jessen, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Gutswirtschaft in Schleswig-Holstein bis zum Beginn der Agrarreform," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, LI (1922), 24; Kutrzeba, pp. 70-73; Krasinski, I, 99-100, 124; Warszawski, pp. 20-21; Vilho Niitemaa, "Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländischen Städte in Mittelalter," *Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Annales*, LXXVI (1952), 154; F. Rachfahl, *Die Organisation der Gesamtstaatsverwaltung Schlesiens vor dem 30 jährigen Kriege* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 53-56; Denis, I, 214-15, 218, 232-34; Stark, p. 48; Heymann, *Žižka*, pp. 39-41; Ivinskis, pp. 108-13.

⁴⁰ Veselovskii, I, 162-64, 264.

In Eastern Germany from the beginning of the colonization jurisdictional lordship (*Gerichtsherrschaft*) over their peasants had been given to private landlords, especially church foundations, because the size and unsettled condition of the various realms, the poor communications, and the inadequate central administrative organization made it physically impossible for the ruler to exercise a large degree of centralized control. Then, after the cessation of colonization, the weakening of the central authorities had led to a constant growth of seigneurial jurisdictional authority, for the rights and prerogatives that had been retained by the sovereigns were given, sold, and even pawned to nobles by weak and needy rulers.⁴¹ In Livonia, also, many private landlords had been given extensive jurisdictional powers from the beginning of the German penetration there, but in the fifteenth century these privileges were much extended.⁴²

In Poland the sovereign began transferring some of his jurisdictional powers over the peasants to seigneurs in the thirteenth century. At first these grants of immunities, freeing their recipients from royal intervention on their lands, were made to individual lords, clerical and lay, but in the latter part of the fourteenth century they began to be given to all members of the nobility. The result was the gradual exclusion of the crown in the lord-peasant relation. This was explicitly recognized by the throne in the early sixteenth century when the king ordered that the royal courts would no longer hear cases between peasants and their lords. The process was hastened by the spread of settlements under the German law. In order to establish a village under this dispensation the landlord had to get permission from the king for the peasant-settlers to be free from royal jurisdiction, i.e., the Polish law. The villages were then under the jurisdiction of their mayor and his court. But the seigneurs wanted to supplant this village autonomy by their own domination. Aided by legislation issued by the weak kings of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they succeeded in making the mayors their creatures and thereby gained juridical and administrative control over the peasants. Thus the German law, originally a powerful force in improving the status of the Polish peasantry, had become a means of diminishing peasant freedom.⁴³

In Bohemia immunities began to be given to church lords in the twelfth and to lay seigneurs in the thirteenth century. At first the jurisdictional rights

⁴¹ G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preussens* (Leipzig, 1887), I, 33-34; Rosenberg, pp. 15-16; Maybaum, pp. 40-75; Jessen, pp. 12-14, 18.

⁴² Bosse, pp. 449-50; Schwabe, pp. 26-29.

⁴³ Kutrzeba, pp. 27-30, 80-85; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 491-92; Warszawski, pp. 35-38.

that were granted were limited, but in the course of the fourteenth century they were made much more extensive. By the early fifteenth century the power of the lords over their renters was so firmly established that they attempted to forbid them from appealing manorial court decisions to royal tribunals and by the latter part of the century were successful in gaining acceptance of this principle. In addition, the lords of Bohemia, and especially of Moravia, were often able to lay claim to the tithes paid by their peasants to the church and to name the priests in their villages.⁴⁴ In Silesia the special grant of immunity from the ducal law necessary to establish a village under German law was early used by the lords there to gain control over their peasants. By the end of the thirteenth century the village mayors had often been reduced to the position of seignorial officials, and the right of lower justice had come to be recognized as an appurtenance of landowning. In the next two centuries the nobles were able to increase the range of their powers with the decline in the strength of the central government.⁴⁵ In Hungary, too, during these centuries the lords were able to get extensive legal and administrative control over their peasants.⁴⁶

In Russia, during the Kievan period, the princes had apparently allowed lords to have important powers over the people who lived in their villages. After the center of Russian life moved to the northeast, grants of immunities became much more general and much more complete, because of the inability of the princes to control their realms, because of their need to win the support of their nobles, and because the nobles needed the power to make concessions that would attract settlers to their lands. By the end of the fourteenth century these judicial and administrative prerogatives had come to be regarded as traditional rights of the landlord. The peasant who lived on a private estate had become the subject of his lord and was without the right of appeal to the prince's court. Also, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the princes made grants of many free communes to nobles, presumably to gain their support in the civil wars of the period. Still other communes, in order to protect themselves in those troubled times, voluntarily turned themselves and their lands over to powerful lords and monasteries. These acts converted the erstwhile free peasants into subjects of these lords. With the emergence of a strong central power in the latter fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, the range of the immunities was restricted by imperial action. But a large reservoir of power over his peasants was left with the seigneur, as part of the mutually advantageous bargain the Moscow

⁴⁴ Otto Peterka, *Rechtsgeschichte der böhmischen Länder* (Prague, 1928-1933), I, 63-65; Grünberg, I, 98; Stark, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁵ Rachfahl, *Die Organisation*, pp. 50-53; *id.*, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 142, 146, 149-51.

⁴⁶ Domanovszky, p. 448.

princes made with their nobility in the formative years of the Russian absolutism.⁴⁷

By the end of the fifteenth century then, in each of these lands the noble had become the government so far as the peasants who lived on his manor were concerned. He was their judge, their police chief, their jailer, their tax collector, and sometimes he chose the clergyman in their church. Although the extent to which this transfer of sovereignty from prince to seigneur varied in and between the different lands, for all practical purposes the peasants on privately owned estates became more the subjects of their lords than of the throne. The result was that the nobles, in pursuit of their private economic interests, by the exercise of their public powers levied for their own use obligations originally imposed for the benefit of the prince, tightened the restrictions on the freedom of movement of their peasants, demanded increased amounts of dues and services, changed the terms of peasant tenure, and even evicted peasants from their holdings. Through entirely legal means the lords were able to set themselves up as the despots of their villages and to press their people into a condition of subjection and dependence upon them.⁴⁸

The third development that I believe explains the ultimate enserfment of the Eastern European peasantry was the great increase in seigneurial production for market in the fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth centuries. During the immediately preceding period noble income from land had been predominantly in the form of rents in cash and kind paid them by their peasants.⁴⁹ Lords had, of course, raised goods on their own account and some of their output had been sold on the market.⁵⁰ But typically, seigneurial production had been unimportant, had gone primarily to meet the lord's own needs, and had been produced mainly by slaves and by hired workers drawn from among landless peasants and cotters.⁵¹ The fact that small and often no labor obligations were demanded of the peasants—when required it was frequently three to six and even just one day a year—evidences the insig-

⁴⁷ Grekov, *Krest'iane*, pp. 114-15, 124; Veselovskii, I, 104, 114-16, 137-42; Odinetz, pp. 263-65; George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1948), pp. 203-204; A. Eck, "Le grand domaine dans la Russie du moyen âge," *Revue Historique du Sud-est européen*, XXI (1944), 119-20, 122.

⁴⁸ Maybaum, pp. 79-85; Jessen, pp. 79-81; Rosenberg, p. 232; Palacky, III, Pt. II, 39; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 151-53; Warszawski, p. 38; Odinetz, pp. 267-68.

⁴⁹ Wittich, pp. 14-15; Schwabe, pp. 41-42; Stark, p. 9; Domanovszky, pp. 452-53.

⁵⁰ Gustav Aubin, "Der Einfluss der Rezeption des römischen Rechtes auf den deutschen Bauernstand," *Jahrb. für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, XCIX (1912), 732-33; Rosenberg, pp. 228-29; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 58, 73-74; F. Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein in der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Jahrb. für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, XCIII (1909), 460; Veselovskii, I, 157-58; Grünberg, I, 98.

⁵¹ Maybaum, p. 108; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 59; Bosse, pp. 419-21; Rakowski, pp. 13-14; Grünberg, I, 97; Veselovskii, I, 155-56.

nificance of the noble's own production.⁵² Furthermore, the goods that were sent to market, whether by seigneurs or by peasants, seem to have been in large, and possibly in largest, part animal and forest products, indicating an emphasis—at least insofar as production for sale was concerned—on animal husbandry and forest industries rather than on tillage.⁵³ Finally, a sizable proportion of the goods that the seigneurs sold undoubtedly represented surplus from the produce paid them as rental charges by their peasants, rather than their own production.⁵⁴

There is evidence indicating that the crisis of depopulation and the abandoning of holdings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had the same effects on the organization of some Eastern European manors that it had in the West, insofar as diminishing the importance of seigneurial production was concerned. Apparently, a number of Eastern seigneurs commuted peasant labor services into quitrents, turned over what demesne they had operated to their peasants as leaseholds, and, in Russia and Lithuania, settled slaves on demesne land and empty peasant tenements, thereby converting them into peasant renters.⁵⁵

But a far more widespread seigneurial reaction in Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary to the economic downturn was to increase demesne. As the fifteenth century wore on, nobles began to depend less on rental income and more and more on production for market, especially grain production.⁵⁶ At first, the expansion of the demesne was at the expense only of abandoned land, although apparently by the end of the century occupied holdings started being taken over.⁵⁷ In order to get the labor they needed for their growing demesnes, the seigneurs increased the

⁵² G. Aubin, "Der Einfluss," p. 733; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 128–30; Schwabe, p. 40; Grünberg, I, 97; Domanovszky, p. 456; Veselovskii, I, 155.

⁵³ August K. F. Skalweit, "Gutsherrschaft und Landarbeiter in Ostdeutschland," *Jahrb. für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, XXXV (1911), 305; Rosenberg, pp. 229–30; Rath, pp. 19–20; Ivinskis, pp. 155–59; Veselovskii, I, 152–56.

⁵⁴ Cf. Wilhelm Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelpolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1896–1931), I, 255–58; Rosenberg, p. 234.

⁵⁵ F. L. Carsten, "The Origins of the Junkers," *English Hist. Rev.*, LXII (1947), 150–54; Schwabe, p. 42; Veselovskii, I, 220.

⁵⁶ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 107–108; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 130–31; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," p. 491; Stark, pp. 21–22; Domanovszky, pp. 454–55.

⁵⁷ Siegfried Korth, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des ostdeutschen Grossgrundbesitzes," *Jahrbuch der Albertus Magnus Universität zu Königsberg, Pr.*, III (1953), 160; Carsten, "Origins of the Junkers," p. 153; Rakowski, p. 33; Grünberg, I, 100; Postan, "Trade of Medieval Europe," p. 197. This tendency to concentrate more on market production seems often to have been most marked among the lesser nobility. G. F. Knapp, and others after him, have suggested that this was attributable to changes in military organization and in methods of warfare which displaced the knight and compelled him to turn his attention to agriculture in order to earn his living. Cf. Knapp, *Bauernbefreiung*, I, 37–38; Wittich, p. 16; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 132–33; and more recently, Stark, pp. 15–16. Modern scholars have pointed out errors and inadequacies in this explanation. Cf. Maybaum, pp. 145–47; Carsten, "Origins of the Junkers," p. 146; Rosenberg, pp. 228, 228 n.

labor services required of their peasants. They made sure that the peasants would be available to perform this obligation by having their monarchs issue laws limiting peasant freedom of movement and by restrictions they imposed themselves. Because of the seigneurial acquisition of jurisdictional privileges over them, the peasants were powerless to resist these seigneurial encroachments and demands save by such illegal acts as flight or revolt.⁵⁸

So increased demesne and increased peasant exploitation were the ways by which many seigneurs of the East tried to adjust to the economic depression. Then at the end of the fifteenth century Europe entered a new era of prosperity that was to last in much of Europe until well into the seventeenth century. This new upswing was characterized by an increase in population and by an over-all rise in agricultural productivity. In the western half of Europe, however, demand soon outran supply so that an acute shortage in bread grains developed—a phenomenon aggravated by the conversion of much arable land into pasture in England and on the Continent. Agricultural prices rose sharply, and their ascent accelerated when American treasure began to flow into the Old World in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Those lords in Eastern Europe who had already taken measures to increase their demesne production as a defense against depression, now seeing the chance to profit from the heightened demand and rising price levels in the West, intensified their efforts and stepped up their grain output. Others quickly followed their example. This activity was most pronounced among those landlords who lived near the Baltic and along the great river systems of Eastern Europe, who enjoyed a comparative advantage in shipping commodities to Western Europe over those whose estates were less accessible.⁶⁰ The share of grain in total exports rose steadily; e.g., a study of shipments down the Vistula from the fourteenth century shows that grain displaced timber in the second half of the fifteenth century as the most important commodity in this commerce.⁶¹

Polish price data of the sixteenth century provide an idea of the profits to be made from the sale of grain. At Danzig, chief staple of the grain trade for the entire Baltic region, notations from the second half of the century show that rye prices, measured in silver, rose by 247 per cent, barley by 187 per cent, and oats by 185 per cent, between 1550 and 1600. Prices of other

⁵⁸ Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 495-96; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 110-11; Bosse, pp. 385-86; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 132-33; Grünberg, I, 101-103; Rath, p. 35.

⁵⁹ Wilhelm Abel, *Agrarkrisis und Agrarkonjunktur in Mitteleuropa von 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 48-57; J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* [Prices in Danzig in the 16th and 17th century] (Lvov, 1937), pp. 171-72.

⁶⁰ Skälweit, p. 308; Rosenberg, p. 233; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 32; Kuhn, I, 158; Stark, pp. 27-28; Bosse, pp. 386-88; Jessen, pp. 56, 83; Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein," p. 460.

⁶¹ Rath, pp. 19-21.

foodstuffs, wages, and manufactured goods rose much more slowly.⁶² Prices from Cracow and Lvov, two other major Polish trade centers, show the same trend; e.g., in Cracow between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the sixteenth centuries rye went up in price more than six times over, the price of oats and wheat quadrupled, and the price of barley doubled. In contrast, cloth prices at Cracow increased by less than 60 per cent, linen prices fell by 43 per cent, and a combined index for building materials and fuel shows an increase of a little over 90 per cent—the prices of some individual commodities in this group remaining stable or even falling during the century. Wages of semiskilled and unskilled labor rose by 118 per cent (between 1521–1525 and 1596–1600).⁶³

In order to meet the heightened demand for grain, new land began to be taken under cultivation by seigneurs and empty holdings were reoccupied. Up to the second half of the sixteenth century there still seems to have been enough abandoned or virgin land to satisfy seigneurial ambitions for demesne expansion, so that land held by peasants was only occasionally absorbed. But then the expropriation of peasant holdings became much more general, so that an ever-increasing number of peasants were reduced to cotters, left without any land at all, or had the size of their holdings much reduced.⁶⁴ The methods of expropriation and its extent varied. Sometimes the lord bluntly took land away from his peasants or seized the common. Often he bought it, though the sales frequently must have been forced. Or, instead of putting a new family on a holding that fell vacant, he made it part of the demesne. Sometimes he took for his own use land that peasants had cleared or common they had converted into arable land without first getting the lord's permission.⁶⁵

Demesne expansion, then, carried on in the fifteenth century in Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary as an adjustment to the downward economic trend, was greatly stimulated in these lands in the

⁶² Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku*, pp. 169–70.

⁶³ Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie*, pp. 127, 130–31, 135; cf. Hoszowski, pp. 208–13. Price data are either lacking or are too scanty, so that this comparison between grain and other prices cannot be made for the other Eastern European lands. But judging from the Polish experience, and from the fact that in Western Europe increases in grain prices outstripped the amount of increase in the prices of manufactured goods and wages (Abel, *Agrarkrisis*, pp. 20–21), it seems reasonable to assume that this phenomenon was common to all the grain producing lands of Eastern Europe. If this assumption is correct, the century must have been a golden age in a literal sense for the landowning class, while those who earned their livings from processing goods, or from the sale of their labor, were now occupying the lower blade of the price scissors, reversing the situation of the preceding period of depression.

⁶⁴ Kuhn, I, 110, 154, 156–57; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 149, 155, 158, 161; Jessen, pp. 60–61; Schwabe, p. 46; Rakowski, p. 33; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 163–65; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 492–93.

⁶⁵ Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 103; Bosse, p. 388; Stark, pp. 39–44; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 155; Rosenberg, p. 234 n.

next century by the new prosperity. Similarly, the restrictions on peasant freedom and the rise in their obligations, especially the labor service, adopted by seigneurs under the pressure of hard times, became much more intense in the succeeding era. Increased labor dues and immobilization of the peasant labor force were inevitable corollaries of expanded demesne farming. The most extreme demands for additional labor services seem to have been made by the Polish lords. The work obligation there prior to the time when it began to go up had been one to three, and at most six, days a year for each full-sized peasant holding (a holding whose size was considered the norm for the support of a peasant household). Then during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the seigneurs began to require many more days. Their demands were given legal sanction by statutes of 1519 and 1529 which set a standard obligation of one day a week. This norm was soon exceeded and by the middle of the century three days, and by the century's end six days, per week had become the established practice. Moreover, as the decades went by, the relation between size of holding and obligation disappeared, for with the increase in demesne and in peasant population the holdings kept getting smaller. Labor dues were demanded of peasants regardless of whether or not they occupied a holding. It has been estimated that the amount of labor actually received from each full-sized holding rose from one day per week in the first quarter of the century to six by 1581, twenty-four by 1603, and thirty-two by 1618.⁶⁶

In the East German lands, where labor services, when required, had originally been three to four and, rarely, six days a year, they ran around two days per week by the mid-sixteenth century. During the second half of that century the obligation continued to go up, so that by the end of the century in Mecklenburg three days a week had become standard. In the early seventeenth century in Brandenburg and Pomerania-Stettin it was ordered that peasants were to be liable to unlimited labor services.⁶⁷ In Bohemia the norm was also increased but the rise was much more moderate, the obligation running around twenty-four days a year.⁶⁸ In Silesia laws of 1559 and 1562 established high norms,⁶⁹ and in Hungary a decree of 1514 ordered one day of labor per week for each full-sized holding.⁷⁰

Actually the legal norms seem often to have been exceeded, for the lord's jurisdictional powers meant the peasant could not effectively resist seigneurial demands for extra days even if they were specifically prohibited by

⁶⁶ Warszawski, pp. 30-34; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," p. 495.

⁶⁷ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 79-80, 156-58, 162; Kuhn, I, 154.

⁶⁸ Stark, pp. 22, 64-65.

⁶⁹ Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," p. 165.

⁷⁰ Domanovszky, p. 459.

statutes. Sometimes devices that had at least an air of legality were used to get more labor services, such as splitting up holdings and demanding work dues from each occupant and sentencing village malefactors to additional days of unpaid work.⁷¹

The limitations on peasant freedom of movement, established during the fifteenth century either as written law by sovereign edicts or as custom through seigneurial initiative, were greatly expanded during the sixteenth century. In state after state much stricter regulations were issued in the first decades of that century. These ordinances and the many supplementary ones put out during the rest of the century and on into the seventeenth century prohibited the peasant and his family from leaving their holding without the lord's permission, put the labor of the peasant's children at the lord's disposal, and placed limitations on the peasant's freedom of choice in selecting a spouse. An especially frequent subject of legislation concerned the recovery and punishment of runaways and sometimes the punishment of those who received them.⁷²

Still another method used in the preceding century to hold peasants on the land and increase their labor services was further developed in the sixteenth century. This was peasant indebtedness. The rise in obligations compelled many peasants to borrow from their lords. The terms of these loans deprived the debtor of his freedom of movement and required him to pay his debt by working for the seigneur.⁷³

In Lithuania seigneurial demesne production for market was unimportant until the sixteenth century, with the exception of Podlachia, in the southwest corner of the state, where development during the fifteenth century resembled that in neighboring Poland. Labor services, when required, were for only a few days a year. Yet already in the fifteenth century nobles had acquired extensive legal and economic powers over their peasant renters, and limitations had begun to be placed on the peasant's freedom of movement and on his rights in the disposal of his property. In the next century, as more and more Lithuanian nobles began producing grain for the market, the labor obligations and the restrictions were increased. By the middle of the century (1557) a norm of two days of work a week per full-sized holding was set for those peasants who were required to render regular labor dues in addition to their other obligations. The other peasants on the manor paid their obligations in cash and kind, plus a small labor service of around

⁷¹ Kuhn, I, 154; Warszawski, pp. 32-34; Stark, pp. 58, 63-64.

⁷² Krasinski, I, 77-83; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 106, 149-51, 157, 159-60, 162-63; Warszawski, p. 28; Domanovszky, p. 451; Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein," p. 458; *id.*, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 158-60; Stark, pp. 60-61; Denis, I, 259.

⁷³ Bosse, p. 450; Rath, pp. 36-37.

twelve days a year. At first, the latter type of peasant predominated, but the continued expansion of seigneurial demesne led to increased emphasis on regular labor services, so that the former group came to outnumber those who were not responsible for labor dues. Moreover, the two-day norm quickly proved insufficient for some seigneurs, so that soon after its establishment they were compelling their people to do three days a week. Simultaneously, the restrictions on peasant freedom became progressively more severe, until by the latter part of the century the rustic was so completely bound to the will of his seigneur that the law even permitted the lord to sell his peasants.⁷⁴

In Russia, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, demesne production when it existed was used primarily to meet the lord's own needs, and peasant obligations were paid almost entirely in kind and to a much smaller extent in cash, although there were exceptional cases where seigneurs produced important amounts of goods for market sale.⁷⁵ Then, in the course of the sixteenth century, and particularly in its second half, tax assessment rolls show that demesnes assumed increasing importance in many manors in every part of the state.⁷⁶ This expansion in seigneurial production was in part a response to the growth of the domestic market and in part a result of the increased need of the seigneurs for cash as the use of money spread in Russia. Unlike the other Eastern lands, it was not attributable to foreign demand for grain, for, as stated earlier, Russia did not become a grain exporter until the seventeenth century. The appearance of the lord on the market was accompanied, as elsewhere, by a multiplication of the labor services demanded of the peasants and by new restrictions on their freedom of movement, often made illegally by the lords through use of their jurisdictional authority. In addition, the growth in numbers and political importance of the lesser nobility (*pomeshchiki*), at the expense of the great lords, contributed to the increase in the burdens of the peasants and the decrease in their freedom. The *pomeshchik*, with his small holding and his own heavy obligation of state service, perforce had to demand more than the great proprietor who could afford to take less from the individual peasant because he had so many of them.⁷⁷

As in the rest of Eastern Europe the increased exploitation of the peasantry received official sanction from the throne in decrees and ordinances

⁷⁴ Conze, I, 48-49, 54-56, 61-62, 65, 90-92, 130-31; Ivinskis, pp. 113-14.

⁷⁵ S. A. Tarakanova-Belkina, *Boiarskoe i monastyrskoe zemlevladienie v novgorodskikh piatinakh v domoskovskoe vremia* [Boyar and monastic landowning in the Novgorodian districts in the pre-Muscovite period] (Moscow, 1939), p. 63; Veselovskii, I, 155-58.

⁷⁶ Nikolai A. Rozhkov, *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo moskovskoi Rusi v XVI veke* [The rural economy of Muscovite Russia in the XVI century] (Moscow, 1899), pp. 129-30, 134-37, 156-60, 168-74, 176-80, 186-89.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284; J. Blum, "Prices in Russia in the Sixteenth Century," *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, XVI (1956), 194-95.

issued from the end of the fifteenth on into the first half of the seventeenth century, and particularly from the 1580's on.⁷⁸ Peasant indebtedness also served in Russia, as it did elsewhere in the East, to bind the peasant to the will of his seigneur-creditor.⁷⁹

By the second half of the sixteenth century the peasant had come to be regarded in many cases as part of his lord's property, even though the seigneur did not yet have the right to buy and sell peasants.⁸⁰ In the last quarter of that century Russian economic life suffered a calamitous decline because of a mass flight of the population from the old regions of settlement, brought on by a series of political, military, and natural disasters.⁸¹ After a brief period of recovery in the 1590's the country was engulfed in the Troubles (1604-1613), when depopulation again became a serious problem. To hold people on the land and to save the landowning class from ruin during these trying periods, still more severe restrictions were placed on peasant freedom.

The result, then, insofar as the Eastern European peasant was concerned, of the seigneurial adjustment to the bad times of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the prosperity that followed, in combination with the growth of noble political and jurisdictional power, was a steady diminution in peasant rights and a proportionally steady increase in seigneurial claims to their labor and land.

The trends which led finally to enserfment were accentuated by the last of the four factors I have posited above as explaining why serfdom rose in the East at the same time that it was declining in the West. This final development was the decline of the cities and of the urban middle class in the lands of Eastern Europe. The experience of Western Europe suggests that the enserfment of the peasantry and its corollary, the economic and political supremacy of the landed nobility, might have been avoided if the burghers of the East had been as powerful as their opposite numbers in Western Europe.

From the thirteenth on into the fifteenth century the cities of Eastern Germany, Bohemia, Livonia, and Poland, acting often in cooperation with the central power, had proven themselves a match for the nobility. They grew steadily, fed by a stream from the countryside of peasants who still had the right to move about as they pleased.⁸² Then, in the fifteenth century,

⁷⁸ Sergeevich, I, 271-77; Grekov, *Krest'iane*, pp. 807-943.

⁷⁹ Vasilii O. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii* (Moscow, 1904-1921), II, 416-17.

⁸⁰ Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 205-206.

⁸¹ Blum, "Prices," pp. 196-97.

⁸² Naudé, I, 253; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 89; F. G. Heymann, "The Role of the Towns in the Bohemia of the Later Middle Ages," *Jour. World History*, II (1955), 326-29; *id.*, *Žižka*, pp. 44-45; Warszawski, pp. 12-13.

they began to lose ground. Their retrogression was attributable in large part to the decline, internationally, of the Hanseatic League (to which many of the Baltic cities belonged), the weakening through military defeat of the Teutonic Order whose members had controlled much of the Eastern trade, the loss of markets and the trade contraction resulting from the depopulation, wars, invasions, and domestic strife of the era, and, in the Baltic, to the growing competition of the Dutch and English.⁸³

In addition to these factors, the decline of the cities was much accelerated by the anti-urban policies followed by the East German, Livonian, Polish, and Bohemian nobility.⁸⁴ The seigneurs of these lands exerted pressure on their governments from the early fifteenth century on for restrictions on the cities and for concessions that would promote their own economic interests at the expense of the burghers. One of their primary aims was to break urban monopolies of foreign and domestic trade. They were also determined to put an end to the cities' practice of receiving runaway peasants, and they were resentful of what they considered unfair prices charged for city products. By virtue of their political power, they succeeded in carrying through much of their program, to the great detriment of the urban centers. Thus they bypassed the cities in trading, selling their grain to foreign merchants who were now allowed to come to their estates, or exporting it themselves. The protests of the cities against these violations of their old privileges were to no avail.⁸⁵ Nobles were also given favorable tariff provisions for their shipments that gave them a price advantage over the shipments of the bourgeois merchants. Urban commercial privileges were assumed by the seigneurs, particularly the right to the sale of beer, which had been a chief source of burgher income. Through the steadily mounting restrictions on peasant freedom of movement the nobles succeeded in stopping the flow of peasants upon which the cities depended for their continued growth. In Poland, from the early fifteenth century, maximums began to be set on prices of city-made goods at the insistence of the nobility.⁸⁶

Hit hard in the fifteenth century by the depression and deprived of much of their function by seigneurial encroachments in this and the succeeding century, most of the Eastern European cities, instead of benefiting from the upswing of the sixteenth century, stagnated into sleepy provincial towns;

⁸³ Niitemaa, p. 137; Bachmann, II, 677; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 117-20, 126.

⁸⁴ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 145-48, 172-73; Niitemaa, p. 185; Warszawski, p. 52; Denis, I, 237-39.

⁸⁵ Niitemaa, pp. 138-39, 153-65; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 170-73; Stark, p. 27; Maybaum, pp. 119-20; Rosenberg, p. 235.

⁸⁶ Raths, pp. 37-40; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 171; *id.*, "Origins of the Junkers," pp. 165-66; Denis, I, 242-43; Stark, pp. 59-60; Krasinski, I, 84-85; Bosse, pp. 368-72; Hoszowski, p. 15.

lesser towns degenerated into mere villages. Meanwhile, in the West, the cities were entering upon a new period of growth in both size and importance that was to transform state and society in the Western lands. This difference in urban development was a matter of fundamental importance not only for the history of the lord-peasant relationship but for European—and world—history as well. For it meant that the claims of the Eastern European nobility to predominance in all aspects of social, political, and economic life were left uncontested. Try as they might, the peasantry alone lacked the leadership and the strength to overthrow this noble supremacy and win freedom for themselves, as the many peasant risings of this and later eras showed all too clearly. The decline of the cities, then, is of fundamental importance in explaining why Eastern Europe remained a backward agrarian society in which such institutions as serfdom, rejected in the West, were able to flourish.

In Russia, too, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seigneurs gained extensive commercial privileges and tariff exemptions for themselves. But unlike the rest of Eastern Europe the Russian cities grew in size and importance from the later fifteenth century on.⁸⁷ Indeed, their growth apparently provided the chief market for expanding seignorial production, for as was pointed out earlier, little or no grain was exported. Interregional trade, however, was not in the hands of city merchants but was carried on mainly by landlords, particularly monasteries, by a special class of traveling merchants, and by the tsar himself, who, working through his agents, was the chief trader of the realm. And so in Russia, too, an important bourgeois class failed to develop.⁸⁸

In summary, it appears that some of the factors that explain the rise of serfdom in Eastern Europe were common to all of the lands of that region, while others were not. This latter group includes the strength of the sovereign, the Western European demand for Eastern grain, and the decline of the cities. In Eastern Germany, Livonia, Silesia, Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Hungary the central power grew weaker, while in Russia it gained in strength, and yet serfdom was established in all these lands. The increase in the Western demand for grain did not affect Russia or Hungary. Moreover, the deterioration in the condition of the peasantry in all the Eastern lands and, in most of them, the expansion in seignorial production had been under way well before this new demand for eastern grain arose.

⁸⁷ Pavel P. Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi i ikh klassovaiia bor'ba do seređiny XVII veka* [Burghers and their class struggle to the middle of the 17th century] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947-1948), I, 21-27, 76-77.

⁸⁸ Blum, "Prices," pp. 192-94.

The decline of the cities, important in the other Eastern lands, was not an element in Russia, although the failure of a strong urban middle class to develop there was of much importance in explaining why serfdom appeared.

Among the factors which were present in all the Eastern European lands was the acquisition by the nobles of political power in the state, which enabled them to reduce the peasants on their manors to a position of dependence upon them. Still another constant was the type of adjustment made to the depression of the late Middle Ages and to the upswing of the sixteenth century.

The collapse of the old seigneurial order in the West has been sometimes attributed to the growth of money economy, or to the increase in commerce, or to the development of capitalism.⁸⁹ But in the East money economy, trade, and capitalism (as evidenced in the capitalistic farming of the seigneurs) also grew, and yet serfdom was established. It seems to me that the most important reason for this divergence in the evolution of the lord-peasant relation in the two regions lay in their differences in political development. In the struggle for domination of the state, the nobility of the East won out over the princes and the town, or, as in Russia, became the class on which the throne depended. As a result, the Eastern nobility, in pursuit of what it conceived to be its own best interests, was able to establish economic and social control over the peasantry and to dominate over the townsmen.

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⁸⁹ Cf. Grekov, *Kres'tiane*, pp. 375-76; Norman S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), pp. 24-31; Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1936), p. 84; Nabholz, pp. 503-504.

The Cultural Impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*

JOHN J. MURRAY

FROM the time when the first visitors arrived from across the Channel, the inhabitants of the British Isles have had their habits and mores altered by ideas from the Continent. Historians have treated at some length the cultural impact of Celt, German, Scandinavian, Frenchman, Spaniard, and Italian, but they have too often ignored the significance of the Flemings. This is indeed curious, for cultural currents from the Flemish speaking Low Countries seriously although quietly helped to shape the flow of British life, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the long run, their significance was perhaps equal to and in some respects superior to the combined influences of Italy and France. From the Low Countries across the North Sea, England received much that was later assumed to be indigenous. The poet who sang "Saxon, or Norman, or Dane are we" could well have added Fleming.

There are many ways by which one nation comes to adopt the customs of another. Not the least important of these is warfare, and soldiers have always been catalysts of cultural change. English and Scottish contingents in the Low Countries fought side by side with the Flemings against the troops of Alva and his successors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The soldiers serving under Sir Henry Morgan, Sir John Norris, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Francis Vere, or the Earl of Leicester came to know and appreciate Flemish ways and as a result took many Flemish customs—military and social—back to Britain with them.

While the military marched, Flemish civilians flocked to England by the thousands seeking to escape the rapine, slaughter, and economic chaos resulting from Protestant and Catholic furies that alternately swept the Low Countries. The Flemings came as "strangers" and attended their own Dutch

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speaking churches,¹ but their children born in England were British. Many became Anglicans, adopted British habits, and changed their names. But when Willem van der Straaten became William Stretes, and Hoek became Leeke, and Haerstricht, the Flemish manufacturer at Bow, became James, they did not desert completely the old ways and the old customs. Though they intended to be English, the strangers could see no reason to abandon the amenities of life to which they had been accustomed. Thus they continued to buy Dutch paintings and Flemish books and to send their children to schools in Leiden, Utrecht, or Amsterdam. When they built their homes, they incorporated in them nostalgic reminders of their Flemish ancestry. Dickens, who knew his London well, had Scrooge eat his gruel in the house of a former Dutch merchant, seated beside a Dutch fireplace decorated with Delft tiles.²

Refugee traffic between the two countries ran both ways: Flemings came to England and Englishmen went to the Netherlands. In the seventeenth century, the United Provinces, especially Holland, offered more real toleration than any other place in Europe.³ Jews from the Iberian peninsula, Protestants of various shades and hues from all over Europe, and even Catholics could find a refuge in Amsterdam, which at least shielded them, although it might not offer them all the freedoms they desired. First Protestants, then Catholics, then Nonconformists left England for the Low Countries, which opened their doors also to English political refugees. The Pilgrim fathers were not a unique group so far as seventeenth-century Holland was concerned, and it is to be remembered that they did not embark for the New World before they had acquired some Dutch ideas and customs.

Economic activities also provided a pathway for Flemish ideas. From the Low Countries, England drew many artisans and craftsmen, and these Flemish refugees brought new crafts with them.⁴ The coming of the "new Draperies" to England is directly connected with the Elizabethan settlements of Flemish refugees in Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, London, and elsewhere.

¹ John Stowe, *A Survey of London* . . . (London, 1603), p. 178. See also W. J. C. Moens, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers 1571-1874* . . . Austin Friars, London . . . (Lymington, 1884).

² Charles H. Wilson, *Holland and Britain* (Toronto, 1946), p. 29.

³ An example of the British attitude toward Amsterdam may be found in John Donne's "The Will," in *The Penquin Poets, John Donne*, John Hayward, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1950), p. 59:

My faith I give to Roman Catholiques,
All my good works unto the Schismatics of Amsterdam.

⁴ W. J. C. Moens and W. C. Waller, eds., *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, Publication of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. XII (Lymington, 1905), app. x, pp. 95-101 (cited hereafter as *Colchester Register*). See also Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1950); Johan F. Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third* (The Hague, 1925); William Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (London, 1897).

During Elizabeth's reign, eleven thousand artisans from Ghent, mostly weavers, came to England,⁵ and many settled in or near St. Katherine's by the Tower, in London. Thus Ben Johnson, in *The Devil Is an Ass*, alludes to this foreign population:

To Shoreditch, Whitechapel and so to St. Katharine's,
To drink with the Dutch there and take forth their patterns.

In 1621 ten thousand strangers were reported to be in London, the greater part being Flemish weavers.⁶ Small wonder the distich:

Hops, Reformation, Bays and Beer
Came into England all in one year.⁷

The town of Norwich opened its gates to four thousand Flemish strangers, the majority of whom were in the cloth trade. Thomas Fuller philosophized:

It is an ill wind that bloweth no man good, even storms bring Wrecks to the Admiral. The cruelty of Duke D'Alva, as it blew the Dutch of their own brought them into this city [Norwich] and with them their Manufactures, which the English quickly learned from them, until Norwich became the Staple of such commodities for the whole land.⁸

Dutch workers and factors made paper, hats, thread, bone-lace, wire, tapestries, jewelry, and other commodities for British home and foreign markets.⁹ High standards of manufacture were introduced into many crafts by Dutch artisans and maintained by them.

In spite of some local animosities, the immigrants prospered. Poverty was rare among them, and they provided not only for their own poor but for the poor of their hosts as well.¹⁰ Both King and Parliament, however, levied heavy charges on them,¹¹ and as a result some returned to Holland or migrated to the New World. The bulk of them bent with the political winds, persevered against the Raleighs and the Lauds, and took firm root in their adopted land.

Dutch money financed many English industries, and English commerce

⁵ Norman G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1953), p. 18.

⁶ Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (London and New York, 1867), pp. 87, 98, 101-103.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), II, 274.

⁹ Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 98, 101-102, 105, 361-62; anon., *The Dutch Drawn to the Life . . .* (London, 1664; this appears to be a reprinting of Owen Feltham, *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States . . .* [London, 1652, 1659, etc.]), p. 8; Lionel Cust, "The Painter HE (Hans Eworth)," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society, 1912-1913* (Oxford, 1913), II, 9; Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations*, pp. 114 ff.; Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, pp. 150-77, 217.

¹⁰ *Colchester Register*, pp. vii, xxiv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, xxiv, xxviii. See also various entries in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*.

up to 1640 became increasingly dependent upon Dutch banking and commodities.¹² Dutch merchants resident in England moved close to the Court,¹³ and Dutch prosperity led English economists more and more to adopt Dutch financial theories. Dutch doctrines on insurance, banking, stock exchange, etc. were eventually incorporated into the British financial structure. There is hardly a writer on economic policy from Mun to Burroughs who does not refer to Holland as the model for British commerce to imitate and the great rival to be overtaken if England was to establish economic hegemony. Sir Thomas Gresham modeled the Royal Exchange on the Antwerp Bourse;¹⁴ Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a Dutchman, outlined a plan for a bank for England in 1641;¹⁵ and fifty-three years later, under a Dutch king, the Bank of England came into existence, with Sir James Houblon, grandson of a Flemish immigrant, as its first governor and with many Dutch merchants as stockholders.¹⁶ Amsterdam money in 1695-1697 came to the rescue of the Bank and saved it from a possible failure by taking over its protested bills.¹⁷

Another pathway for the transference of ideas was the exchange of scholars. The impact of Erasmus upon Cambridge and Oxford and of Boerhaave upon Edinburgh is well known. We need only to mention that many Dutch professors were at British universities, and British students went to the Netherlands. Two English students, for example, were at Leiden within six years of that university's founding in 1575, and the first candidate for the medical degree there belonged to the English nation. By 1617 thirty English students were enrolled at Leiden in various disciplines.¹⁸ By another generation there was a regular stream of Britishers to the universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam, ranging from the diarist, John Evelyn, and the economist, Sir William Petty, to the jurist, Boswell's father, and the physician, Sir Thomas Browne.

One way to evaluate the importance of the Low Countries influence on England is to study the numerous Flemish words that crept into the English language. These have been called "a miniature of the Dutch gift" to the English way of life.¹⁹ Professor George N. Clark, it is true, has argued that the Dutch influence was limited because most of the words adopted were

¹² Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 123; Samuel Lamb, *Seasonable Observations Humbly Offered to his Highness the Lord Protector* (London, 1658), pp. 9-10.

¹³ Various volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, especially those covering the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I.

¹⁴ Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, p. 192, pt. ii; Stowe, *Survey*, p. 194.

¹⁵ Hugh Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits* (London, 1949), p. 80.

¹⁶ *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1891 ed.), XXVII, 417.

¹⁷ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 125.

¹⁸ John J. Keevil, *The Stranger's Son* (London, 1953), p. 9.

¹⁹ George N. Clark, *The Dutch Influence on the English Vocabulary*, (Oxford, 1935), p. 172.

those "used in daily life."²⁰ He points out that the English took over no Dutch words for philosophical or religious concepts, for political institutions and practices, or for courtly or aristocratic social life.²¹ He does not mention two important facts, however: the Low Countries, because of the dominance of the rising middle class, did not need many words for the aristocracy; and, what is more important, Latin was still the language of scholarship, science, and theology during the period of Low Country greatness. The greatest difficulty here is the common origin of many words and the similarity between English and Flemish in the fifteenth century. A pamphleteer could comment two hundred years later that "most of our old words are Dutch,"²² and Richardson, a grammarian of the same period, could point out that with the burred "r" a Scot could "with more facility attain the Dutch language" and that many Dutch words represented the old English forms.²³

The test of language shows very clearly England's debt to the Low Countries in maritime ventures. As might be expected, the English language abounds with Dutch nautical and marine terms, for the Dutch in many respects were schoolmasters for the promoters of British navigation. "Yachts," "pinks," "hoys," "fly-boats," "herring-busses," "pinnaces," "hookers," and "sloops" are Dutch-designed boats which became a part of British shipping and their names a part of English vocabulary.²⁴ The Dutch modification of the lateen sail and the subsequent introduction of fore-and-aft rigging brought with it such terms as "boom" and "vang" along with sundry designations of sails.²⁵ Words such as "harpoon," "caulk," "becalm," "capstan," "skipper," "scurvy," "keelhaul," "ballast," and "balk," among others, bear testimony to Dutch maritime predominance in the seventeenth century.²⁶ In 1671 when Nicholas Witsen of Amsterdam published his classic work on naval architecture, Pepys wanted the book fully translated, and in the meantime had his friend James Houblon abstract it for him. That the Dutch had schools to teach the mechanics of shipbuilding and that "strangers" could "come and learn as well as natives" greatly impressed Pepys.²⁷

The influence of the Low Countries on English shipping extended further. In 1608 the Dutch gave to seamen the first binoculars, and later in the cen-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

²² *The Dutch Drawn to the Life* . . . , p. 67.

²³ Edward Richardson, *Anglo-Belgica, The English and Netherdutch Academy in Three Parts* . . . (Amsterdam, 1677), pp. 26, 32-33.

²⁴ Clark, *Dutch Influence*, pp. 166-71.

²⁵ Edward Keble Chatterton, *Sailing Ships; the Story of Their Development from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1909), pp. 282-85.

²⁶ William Falconer, ed., *A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* . . . (London, 1815), pp. 29, 37, 199. See also Clark, *Dutch Influence*, pp. 166-71; *The New English Dictionary*, s.v.

²⁷ *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes*, Joseph R. Tanner, ed., Naval Records Society Publication, Vol. LX (London, 1926), p. 183.

ture they pioneered in the development of marine clocks.²⁸ The explorations of Dutch sailors opened up hitherto unknown seas. Explorers such as Schouten and Le Maire, first around Cape Horn; William Janszoon, first to touch Australia; Hertogszoon, Houtman, and their successors, exploring the coast of that continent; and Tasmain, the discoverer of New Zealand and Tasmania and the first to sail around Australia, added to Britain's knowledge of and interest in the South Pacific.²⁹

Dutch map makers, too, added immeasurably to the sailor's knowledge of the seas. "The reform of cartography in the sixteenth century owed much to the achievements of Mercator and Ortelius."³⁰ In the seventeenth century, Flemish predominance in map-making continued unabated, though Amsterdam replaced Antwerp as the great mart for maps, globes, and sea charts. Perhaps the greatest of the seventeenth century map makers was the house of Blaeuw, whose maps were unexcelled for workmanship and beauty.³¹ For the British seamen, the most important map maker was Lucas Wagenaer, whose marine charts, first appearing in the *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (1584), they used so extensively that eventually "Waggoner" became a synonym for sea atlas.³² English map makers borrowed freely from Dutch cartographers, though with varying success. Pepys considered *The English Pilot* (1671) by John Sellers to be "little less than transcripts of the Dutch maps" of Wagenaer, and he labeled the six Scripture maps of Joseph Moxon as "taken from the Dutch and . . . infinitely inferior to them."³³

One reason for Dutch success in cartography was Dutch superiority in engraving and printing. From Lucas van Leyden, through Van Dyck and Rembrandt, down to Jan Luyken, the last of the great Dutch engravers of emblemata, Flemish printing houses poured forth magnificent prints that were widely copied in England.³⁴ The Flemish refugees John and Martin Droeshout are well known to students of Shakespeare because of their engraved portrait of the great dramatist.³⁵ Of more fundamental importance to English engraving was Sir Anthony van Dyck whose *Iconographiae*

²⁸ Abraham Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (2d ed.; London, 1950), pp. 76, 114-15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

³¹ Redmond W. Cross, "The Dutch Cartographers of the Seventeenth Century," extract from the *Geographical Review* (New York, 1918), p. 69; Joseph Moxon, *A Tutor to Astronomy and Geography or an Easie and Speedy Way to Know the Use of Both the Globes, Cœlestial and Terrestrial* (London, 1674), "Letter to the Reader"; Ronald V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers* (2d ed.; London, 1952), *passim*.

³² Tooley, p. 127. See also *NED*, s.v. Waggoner.

³³ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 12, 113.

³⁴ Arthur Mayger Hind, *A Short History of Engraving and Etching* (Boston, 1908), pp. 71, 114-16, 141; Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (London, 1939), I, 183.

³⁵ Hind, *History of Engraving*, p. 138.

"formed the pre-eminent factor in fixing a standard for future engravers of portrait."³⁶ The Van de Veldes did the same thing for marine engraving.³⁷ In the late seventeenth century, a school of engraving developed in Holland in which the engraver made use of etching in conjunction with the engraved line. A common mordant used was a dilution of hydrochloric acid with chlorate of potash, a mixture known in England as "the Dutch bath."³⁸

Dutch booksellers worked closely with their engravers and printers. The printing firms of Cock, Galle, and Van de Passe had representatives all over Europe, and England was no exception.³⁹ Prints from the house of Hondius-Janszoon and Blaeuw were well known to British buyers, who bought emblems along with landscapes and maps. Emblem books were introduced into England from the Continent during the reign of Elizabeth and had a tremendous vogue throughout the next century. Francis Quarles, the most renowned of England's emblem poets, borrowed all but ten of seventy-nine emblems from the books of two Flemish Jesuits, Herman Hugo and Philippe de Mallery.⁴⁰ British emblem writers such as Edward Arwaker, Christopher Harvey, Philip Ayers, and Geoffrey Whitney all plundered Flemish artists for their engravings.⁴¹ The emblems of Jacob Cats, Dutch poet and statesman, had a considerable vogue in England, and Sir Joshua Reynolds obtained inspiration as a youth from a book of Cats's emblems, which his Dutch grandmother had given him.⁴²

Flemings played a definite role in the history of English printing. It is nearly impossible to separate booksellers from printers in the sixteenth century, but from 1483, when Flemish printers first began to issue books for the English market, to 1640 over two hundred Flemish printers and booksellers had some connection with England.⁴³ Christopher Plantin, Martinus de Keyser, the Elseviers, the Blaeuws, and Hans Luft printed books specifically for English buyers.⁴⁴ Others such as Christoffel van Ruremund and his

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 142. See also, by the same author, *Van Dyck, His Original Etchings and His Iconography* (Boston, 1915).

³⁷ William Aspenwall Bradley, *Dutch Landscape Etchers of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 1918), pp. 24-26.

³⁸ Hind, *History of Engraving*, p. 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

⁴⁰ Gordon S. Haight, "The Sources of Quarles's Emblems," *The Library*, XVI (1936), 188-209; Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), p. 117.

⁴¹ Praz, *Imagery*, I, 117, 145, and *passim*; Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, p. 132.

⁴² John Leighton and Richard Pigot, eds., *Moral Emblems with Aphorisms, Adages, and Proverbs of All Ages and Nations, from Jacob Cats and Robert Farlie* (London, 1865), p. xii.

⁴³ Figures compiled from E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London, 1905), and R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London, 1910). See also Adrianus M. Ledebor, *Alfabetische Lijst der Boekdrukkers, Boekverkoopers en U uitgevers in Noord-Nederland . . .* (Utrecht, 1876).

⁴⁴ Maria E. Kronenberg, "De Geheimzinnige Drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg Ontmaskert (1526-1535)," *Het Boek*, VIII (The Hague, 1919), 241-80;

brother Hans sold their books personally in England, and their vending of English Bibles brought them into conflict with the authorities.⁴⁵ A third group, in which were Emanuel van Meteren, Stephen Mierdam, and Nicholas van de Berghe, settled in England and became British subjects.⁴⁶

These booksellers and printers of Flemish birth and extraction were in the forefront in the battle for men's minds and souls waged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A steady stream of Bibles and Protestant tracts were smuggled into England from the Low Countries.⁴⁷ After Parma was able to save the Southern Netherlands for the Spanish crown and for Rome, Antwerp and Brussels became focal points for the printing and distribution of Jesuit and other Catholic books. Allen, Harding, Rainolds, and Broughton all had books printed in Antwerp for English Catholics at home, and printers who later went to Douai often learned their craft in the Southern Netherlands.⁴⁸ The Calvinist presses in the United Provinces were also active. Some printers, especially those in Amsterdam, were on both sides, or perhaps we should say they ranged themselves solely on the side of mammon. Along with the religious and devotional books, newsletters were issued giving information about the tide of battle. The first newspapers (corantos) published in the English language came off Dutch presses,⁴⁹ and in the second half of the seventeenth century, Londoners relied heavily upon Dutch sources for their European news.⁵⁰

Dutch printers emigrating to England for religious, economic, or other reasons brought with them a knowledge and skill in printing far superior to that of their English colleagues. English printers were dependent upon Dutch type foundries until the eighteenth century.⁵¹ At that time, Caslon brought out his own beautiful type cuts, which were, however, based upon types by Christopher van Dyke. The university presses at Cambridge and Oxford both obtained a large number of type founts and matrices from

id., "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century)," *The Library*, 4th ser., IX (1929), 153-61; Duff, *English Book Trade*, pp. 21, 95; Ernst W. Moes, *De Amsterdamsche Boekdrukkers en Uitgevers in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1900); Harold B. Copinger, *The Elsevier Press* (London, 1927), *passim*; Henry R. Plomer, "The Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Library*, 4th ser., IV (1924), 146-50.

⁴⁵ Duff, *English Book Trade*, p. 140; Kronenberg, "Printing in the Low Countries," pp. 148-50.

⁴⁶ Duff, pp. 33, 72-73, 105.

⁴⁷ Kronenberg, pp. 147-48.

⁴⁸ See Duff, above, and McKerrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. See also *The Short Title Catalogue*.

⁴⁹ J. B. Williams, "The Earliest English Corantos," *The Library*, 3d ser., IV (1913), 437. See also Folke Dahl, *Dutch Corantos, 1618-1650, a Bibliography . . .* (The Hague, 1946).

⁵⁰ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 67; Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660-1668* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), p. 37.

⁵¹ Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, rev. by Alfred F. Johnson (2d ed.; London, 1952), pp. 33 ff. and 114.

Holland,⁵² and Oxford even imported Peter Walpergen, a Dutch type founder.⁵³ Joseph Moxon, one of the earliest standard authorities on printing, along with James Watson, author of the *Art of Printing* (1713),⁵⁴ preferred Dutch type, Dutch workmen, Dutch presses of the Blaeuw model, and Dutch ink, which in reality was the Dutch varnish that supplied the base for all British inks.⁵⁵ England bought most of her paper through Dutch wholesalers, although a considerable portion of it was manufactured in France.⁵⁶

Flanders served as the outlet for disseminating information during the seventeenth-century religious conflicts in England, and its thinkers actually contributed many important ideas to British theological arguments. The new devotion (*devotio moderna*) found in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century developed into the sixteenth-century Christian humanism of Erasmus. In the next century, there was a strong revival of doctrines such as freedom of will and religious toleration in the United Provinces. The movement toward Christian humanism in the revolt against orthodox Calvinism led by Jacob Arminius and his followers had important repercussions in England. There was a direct, traceable progression of latitudinarian ideas from Erasmus, through Arminius and Grotius, to Milton and John Locke. In fact, English religious policy "was profoundly influenced throughout the first half of the century by religious developments in Holland. In few periods in English history has thought been so vitally affected by ideas and occurrences in a foreign country."⁵⁷

An understanding of the Dutch influence on British religious thought and theology is necessary for full comprehension of English ecclesiastical history. The relationships of Erasmus to the Oxford Reformers and of the Marian exiles to Puritanism are oft-told tales, but the significance of Dutch Arminians and of Stuart exiles upon subsequent British religious development warrants further exploration. The religious literature of the period reveals how closely the English religious struggles in the 1640's mirrored the Dutch conflict of the 1610's.⁵⁸

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

⁵³ Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Uses*, (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass., 1937), II, 97.

⁵⁴ William J. Couper, "Watson's 'History of Printing,'" *The Library*, 3d ser., I (1910), 425-26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426; Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-work Applied to the Art of Printing* (reprinted from the first edition of 1683; New York, 1896), I, *passim*, and II, 330. See also Charles T. Jacobi, "Printing Inks," *The Library*, new ser., VII (1906), 72.

⁵⁶ Dard Hunter, *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries* (New York, 1930), pp. 245-46.

⁵⁷ Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932-1940), II, 319-20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* See also Douglas Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration: A Study in the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600-1650* (London, 1938), p. 271.

The controversy of the Dutch Remonstrant followers of Arminius with the orthodox party in the Netherlands was "followed with breathless interest in England." British ecclesiastics sat at the Synod of Dort (1618-1619), which condemned the Remonstrant divines and political leaders,⁵⁹ and in England the charge "Arminian" was soon applied to all those who opposed orthodox Calvinism and who, like the "ever-memorable" John Hales, an official observer at Dort, had said "Good-night to John Calvin."⁶⁰ Divines such as Baillie, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Edwards were all familiar with the Dutch theological debate waged at Dort, and they were loud in their praise of orthodox champions, such as Gomarus, Walaeus, Triglandius, and Voetius, as well as violent in their condemnation of Uitenbogaerd, Vossius, Episcopius, and other followers of Arminius.⁶¹ Richard Baxter, a pseudo-Presbyterian, reserved much of his venom for the jurist Hugo Grotius, whose religion Baxter had "newly discovered" to be Arminian, Socinian, and Papist; to the Anglicans, Pierce and Hammond, Grotius appeared as prelatist and peacemaker.⁶²

The opponents of the Presbyterians, especially the Independents, were not so prone to rely upon the works of Dutch theologians and based their arguments mainly upon the Scriptures. Yet they showed a familiarity with Dutch religious doctrine, which is understandable, for the five leading Non-conformists seated in the Assembly of the Divines in the 1640's had all been exiles in Holland during the Laudian regime and their return to England gave Independency its initial momentum.⁶³ That arch-Leveller, John Lil-

⁵⁹ The best account of the Synod as seen through English eyes is "Mr. Hales's Letters from the Synod of Dort to the Right Honourable Sir Dudley Carlton . . .," in *The Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College* . . . , John Pearson, ed., (London, 1659).

⁶⁰ James Hinsdale Elson, *John Hales of Eton* (New York, 1948), p. 1; John J. Murray, "John Hales on History," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XIX (1956), 232.

⁶¹ The number of pamphlets and sermons on this matter is legion. Representative tracts are: Robert Baillie, *A Review of the Seditious Pamphlet Lately Published in Holland by Dr. Bramhall . . . Entitled His Fair Warning against the Scots Discipline* . . . (Delft, 1649) and *Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme and the Most of the Other Errors* (London, 1647); Samuel Rutherford, *The Covenant of Life Opened, Or, A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace* (Edinburgh, 1655); Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia: Or a Full Answer to the Apologeticall Narration* . . . (London, 1644) and *Gangraena or a Catalogue and Discovery of the Many Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries* . . . (London, 1646). For good secondary accounts see Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, pp. 271-73 and *passim*; Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II and III, *passim*.

⁶² Richard Baxter, *The Grotian Religion Discovered* (1658); *Five Disputations of Church-Government and Worship* (London, 1659), pp. 31-36, and *A Key for Catholicks* (1659), pp. 385-86; Thomas Pierce, *The New Discoverer Discover'd: By Way of Answer to Mr. Baxter, His Pretended Discovery of the Grotian Religion* . . . (London, 1659), pp. 166-83; Henry Hammond, *A Continuation of the Defence of Hugo Grotius in an Answer to a Review of His Annotation* (London, 1657), pp. 1-20.

⁶³ Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II, 319-20, III, 369; Aart A. van Schelven, *Het Calvinisme Gedurende Zijn Bloeitijd, Deel II: Schotland-Engeland-Noord-Amerike* (Amsterdam, 1951), p. 219.

burne, spent some time in Holland,⁶⁴ and Milton, who had been taught Dutch by Roger Williams, undoubtedly obtained much of his Arminianism from Dutch thinkers.⁶⁵

Congregationalism drew strength from the Netherlands as well as from New England. The English separatists, during their stay in the Low Countries, "had been very considerably influenced by their Arminian and Anabaptist neighbours." Some shifted creeds like John Canne, who in 1640 set up "the famous Broadmead Baptist Church" at Bristol, and it was from men such as Canne that the "Baptist movement in England received its real inception." Others returned from the Netherlands with convictions that "were speedily to convert Congregationalism into the great spiritual force which was to be so important in the history of religious and political liberty—Independency." From the twenty-four preachers in the English congregations in Holland, "Congregationalism in England gained its leadership after 1640."⁶⁶

Both sides in the theological conflicts raging in England during the seventeenth century drew examples from Dutch religious and political life. The defenders of orthodoxy and foes of toleration found Amsterdam to be a "University of Religion" which lacked "either order or pruning," where "Peddlers of Religion" had "leave to vent their toies, their Ribands and phanatick Rattles." Amsterdam to them was a city whose god was gain and whose government "rather than hinder Traffique tolerates anything."⁶⁷ Unfortunately for stern Calvinist and rigid Anglican, the god of gain had a tremendous appeal, and hopes for prosperity could be used to counteract emotional bigotry. The ecclesiastic, Roger Williams, the pamphleteer, Owen Feltham, the economist, Sir William Petty, and the statesman, Sir William Temple, along with a host of writers saw Amsterdam's commercial greatness to rest in part upon toleration.

While in exile in 1685, John Locke became closely associated with Philip van Limborch, a Remonstrant professor at Amsterdam, and addressed to him a letter expressing his ideas on toleration, which four years later Limborch published in Latin. Between the time of the letter's composition and its publication, Locke led a pleasant life at Rotterdam among his Dutch friends. All that was needed was a Protestant wind and a Dutch king to put into action the ideas expressed in what was to be the *Essay on Toleration*.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ John Lilburne, *A Worke of the Beaste . . .* (1638), pp. 10-12.

⁶⁵ DNB, s.v. See also Williams (above, fn. 49), p. 57.

⁶⁶ Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II, 224, 230, 262, 277.

⁶⁷ Feltham, *Brief Character*, pp. 44-47; *Dutch Drawn to Life*, pp. 49 ff.

⁶⁸ John W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 1950), p. 195. See also Abraham J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederland* (Haarlem, 1852-1878), s. v. Limborch.

In the arts, as in other fields, Dutch influences were notable. In the period before English music reached its great peak, Flemish polyphony merged with the active native tradition. If John Dunstable left his mark upon the Flemish polyphonists of the fifteenth century, they "in turn repaid those of the sixteenth century in England with interest."⁶⁹ Such Flemish musicians as Johannes Okelghem, Josquin des Prés, and Orlande de Lassus, through the subsequent developments of the Italo-Flemish and Franco-Flemish schools of music, left their mark on English music.⁷⁰ The Netherlands maintained importance in the manufacturing of musical instruments:

The industrial and commercial spirit of the Dutch found a rich field in the manufacture of musical instruments and in music printing and publishing. Dutch harpsichords were famous all over the world, and the instruments built by members of the Ruckers family, apparently impervious to the destructive effects of time, preserved their unsurpassable purity and beauty of tone for many generations. Music publishing developed into an important industry, and the well-equipped printing offices of Antwerp found a ready market all over Europe.⁷¹

Dutchmen taught the "Laying on Colours in Oyl, the working of Pictures in Glass" to the English.⁷² The influence of the Flemish painters upon those in England began as far back as the Flemish primitives. Touching the portrait painters of the Tudors, it reached its greatest significance in the seventeenth century. Within the short space of thirty-five years (1634-1668), the Dutch words "easel," "etch," "maulstick," "landscape," and "sketch" were added to the English language,⁷³ while at the same time the artists Van Dyke, Rubens, Huysman, and others enjoyed a tremendous vogue in England.

The fashion of having one's portrait done by Flemish painters has sometimes provided the historian his only real idea of the appearance of many historical personages. The two Gheerharts, the De Critzes, Hans Eworth, Antonis Mor, Lucas de Heere, Joos van Cleef, to mention a few, reveal the character of various Tudor and Jacobean figures and illustrate the clothing of their times. What the portrait painters did for people, the two Van de Veldes and Hendrick Corneliszoon Vroom did for ships. Pepys could ask in his *Naval Minutes*, "What sea-scape of our nation have we ever had like Vandervelde or others?"⁷⁴ and much later Macaulay would declare that the Van de Veldes did some of the finest sea pieces in the world.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Eric Blom, *Music in England* (rev. ed.; London, 1947), p. 28.

⁷⁰ Cecil Gray, *The History of Music* (New York, 1928), pp. 61, 64, 104, 114; Paul Henry Láng, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), pp. 175, 177, 193-94, 230, 277, 285, 289.

⁷¹ Láng, pp. 420-21.

⁷² *Dutch Drawn to Life*, p. 8.

⁷³ Clark, *Dutch Influence*, p. 170.

⁷⁴ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, p. 365.

⁷⁵ Chatterton, *Sailing Ships*, p. 287.

The significance of Dutch landscape artists on those of Britain is perhaps most vividly shown by the art exhibition held in 1954 at Norwich Castle, which illustrated the close connection between the Dutch landscape painters of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and the Norwich School of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Sell Cotman's work was hung alongside of that of Cuyp and Ruysdael; Constable's "Trees near Hampstead Church" and his "Yarmouth Jetty" were next to Adriaen van de Velde's "Woodland Scene near The Hague" and Simon de Vlieger's "The Beach at Scheveningen." Gainsborough's "Bumper," a study of a dog in a landscape, looked curiously like the next picture, Jan Wyants' "Greyhound in a Landscape." John Crome's "Study of a Burdock," when placed with Rachel Ruysch's "Butterflies and Foliage" showed that both artists were "inspired by the serpentine contours of the leaves and incidental details around them." Joseph Stannard's works bore the impact of William van de Velde the Younger and Jan van de Capelle, and all of the Norwich School indicated now and then the stamp of the masterful Hobbema.⁷⁶

The Norwich School exemplified a latent influence, but Dutch landscapes were well known in England in the seventeenth century. Pepys, on viewing a painting of Simon Verelst, the self-styled "God of Flowers," considered it "the finest thing that ever, I think I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no."⁷⁷ John Evelyn bought "landscapes and drolleries" to send to England,⁷⁸ and many of his countrymen purchased Dutch masterpieces for their galleries and had their walls and chimney pieces done by Dutch artists. The old Netherlandish naturalistic style also exercised a profound effect on the later development of British water colors.⁷⁹ Flemish collectors and dealers, such as Gerbier and De Critz, did much to foster art in England and to preserve the masters for posterity.⁸⁰ The English debt to them during the dispersal of the Royal and Buckingham collections cannot be overstressed.

In architecture, the British style was modified by the Dutch Renaissance style. Throughout the reign of Henry VIII, building trends followed the

⁷⁶ Francis W. Hawcroft, "East Anglia's Debt to Holland," *Country Life*, CXVI (1954), 204-20.

⁷⁷ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Henry B. Wheatley, ed. (Boston, 1892), XVI, 272 (entry for April 11, 1669).

⁷⁸ *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (London, 1889), I, 22 (entry for August 13, 1641).

⁷⁹ Charles F. Bell, "Fresh Light on Some Water-colour Painters of the Old British School, Derived from the Collection and Papers of James Moore, F.S.A.," *Fifth Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1917), p. 56.

⁸⁰ Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, p. 28; Rachael Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family of Painters," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 55-56.

Italian or the French version of the Italian, but from 1550 on, British architects tended to copy the Dutch.⁸¹ The trend was undoubtedly accentuated by the great number of books on architecture published in the Low Countries. Architects from John Thorpe in the sixteenth century to Christopher Wren in the early eighteenth century were familiar with current Dutch authorities on architectural design, and they incorporated many Flemish characteristics in their own work.⁸² The British adopted more Dutch models of elevation than of plan, and they toned down the extravagant and fantastic curves which the Dutch loved so ardently.⁸³ But Wren steeples and Jacobean gabled houses bear testimony to Flemish influences. Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (1588), with its gables and elaborate strap work is in the Dutch Renaissance style at its heaviest. In East Anglia, Dutch inspiration is everywhere noticeable, "the most prominent feature being the brick gable, which silhouettes the sky in an almost unlimited number of shapes and forms." Blickling and Raynham Halls, the White Hart Inn at Scole, the Red Lion at Eaton, and the delightful street fronts of King's Lynn are excellent examples reflecting the impact of the Netherlands upon East Anglia.⁸⁴ Hampton Court as remodeled by Mary Stuart became characteristically Dutch. Wren designed shelves, cornices, and tiered chimney pieces; Verrio did frescoes on the staircases and ceilings; and Grinling Gibbons made wood carvings "that even today are the admiration and despair of the wood-worker."⁸⁵

British household interiors, like their exteriors, sometimes became Flemish Renaissance. Architects designing seventeenth-century houses incorporated Dutch staircases, chimney pieces, and tiles. Dutch furniture was in great demand. Those who could afford it had Dutch designers and workmen make their furniture; some who could not had the superior Dutch models copied. These designs are known to us today "under English and not Dutch titles."⁸⁶ The Flemish bow, C-scroll, and curve can be found at least individually if not collectively in all chairs made in the late Stuart period, and chairs with scrolled front legs in the Dutch manner were afterwards "modified and adopted by Thomas Chippendale, and became the design basis of his Rococco manner."⁸⁷

⁸¹ John A. Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England: A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Tudor, Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods, 1500-1625* . . . (London, 1901), pp. 8-9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

⁸⁴ Hawcroft, *op. cit.* (see fn. 76).

⁸⁵ Esther Singleton, *Dutch and Flemish Furniture* (London, 1907), p. 282.

⁸⁶ Aymar Embury, *The Dutch Colonial House; Its Origin, Design, Modern Plan and Construction* (New York, 1919; published in 1929 under the title *Building the Dutch Colonial House*), p. 99.

⁸⁷ Herbert Cezinsky and Ernest R. Gribble, *Early English Furniture and Woodwork* (London, 1922), II, 228.

In 1662 a Dutch resident in London, Johannes Fromanteel, made the first long case, or perhaps we should say grandfather, clock; shortly thereafter Dutch woodworkers were producing clock cases and sometimes clocks for English customers.⁸⁸ One of these clocks merrily ticked away in Dickens' "old curiosity shop." Dutch examples of marquetry and inlay were put to excellent use, not only in the manufacture of clock cases but also in the making of chests and cupboards.⁸⁹ "Veneer" is a Dutch word, and the Dutch were the first to produce a native lacquer that could compete with those of the Orient. Dutch traders not only monopolized the lacquer trade but also controlled a good portion of the porcelain trade from the Far East.⁹⁰ Porcelain manufactured at Delft predominated in the British markets until the middle of the eighteenth century. Up to the beginning of the reign of Charles I, Flemish tapestry makers dominated the British markets.⁹¹

The Dutch made remarkable contributions to British agriculture. In the sixteenth century a light plow that could be drawn by two horses was invented in the Netherlands, and it was introduced into Norfolk and Suffolk during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹² Farmers in the Netherlands employed crop rotation, and in the seventeenth century Sir Richard Weston advocated the application of such Flemish methods to British agriculture. He initiated the planting of Dutch clover,⁹³ so that in Norfolk and the Fen country, clover cultivation was practiced some years before 1700. Thirty years later, a decided impetus was given to the practice of crop rotation when Charles Viscount Townshend, who had spent a part of his political career in the Netherlands, quit his office of Secretary of State and returned to Raynham, his Dutch-style home, to farm his lands according to the "Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders."⁹⁴

Perhaps of greater significance than the Dutch impetus to large-scale farming was the stimulus given to truck gardening. Before the coming of the Flemings, the art of gardening seems to have been lost by the English and there was "hardly . . . a Messe of Rath-Ripe pease but from Holland, which were dainties for Ladies, they came so far and cost so dear."⁹⁵ Queen Katharine of Aragon had her table supplied from the Low Countries for she

⁸⁸ Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, IV, 80; Ceszinsky and Gribble, II, 38-39.

⁸⁹ Ceszinsky and Gribble, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁰ Singleton, *Dutch and Flemish Furniture*, pp. 226-98.

⁹¹ Albert F. Kendrick, "The Hatfield Tapestries of the Seasons," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society*, p. 89; Singleton, pp. 156-57.

⁹² Wolf, *History of Science*, p. 455.

⁹³ John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. by Oliver Lawson Dick (London, 1949), p. xliv; Paul Hardacre, "The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution, 1642-1660," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XVI (1952-53), 368.

⁹⁴ Wolf, *History of Science*, p. 454.

⁹⁵ Fuller, *Worthies*, III, 77.

was unable to obtain the makings for a salad in all England. In the sixteenth century, a cabbage from Holland was deemed to be an acceptable present.⁹⁶ When Aubrey compiled his *Lives* in the mid-seventeenth century, he talked to a Mrs. John Ashe, then eighty, who remembered when all cabbages came from Holland, and to an elderly gentleman in Somersetshire who could recall when the first carrots were introduced.⁹⁷ The Dutch immigrants changed asparagus, artichokes, and water cress from aphrodisiacs and women's remedies to edibles.⁹⁸ By 1699, when Evelyn wrote his *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets*, he could find in London gardens the ingredients needed to fill the salad bowl. The proper preparation of a salad had become a fit subject to be discussed by the Royal Society.⁹⁹

The formal gardens of Hampton Court were as Dutch as the Queen's bed (which Pepys found to be particularly noble¹⁰⁰). It would be hard to imagine a Hollander without flowers, and Dutch color was added to the fragrance of the English flower garden.¹⁰¹

The Dutch brought thither with them, not only their profitable craft, but pleasurable curiosities. They were the first who advanced the use and reputation of Flowers in this City [Norwich]. A Flower is the best complexioned grass, (as a Pearl is the best colored clay) and daily it weareth Gods Livery, for he cloatheth the Grass in the Field. . . . Great the Art in meliorating of flowers, and the Rose of Roses (*Rosa Mundi*) had its first being in this City. As Jacob used an ingenious invention to make Laban's cattle speckled or ring-straked, so much the skill in making Tulips feathered and veriegated, with stripes or divers colours.¹⁰²

Dutch botanists as well as Dutch gardeners added to Britain's horticultural development. Mattias de l'Obel or Lobelius (1538-1616) was born in the Netherlands and "ended his days in England, where he was in charge of the royal gardens under Queen Elizabeth and King James." His name is commemorated in the ornamental flower called Lobelias. The *Hortus Floridus* of Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, published in 1614, was translated a year later into English.¹⁰³ British herbalists owed much to the famous

⁹⁶ Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 93-94.

⁹⁷ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, pp. xliii, xlv.

⁹⁸ The following works, among many, present in part the changing attitudes toward certain vegetables: Thomas Hyll, *The Profitable Arte of Gardening . . . with the Phisick Helpes Belonging to Eche Herbe* . . . (London, 1568) and *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London, 1577); William Turner, *The First and Seconde Parties of the Herbal of William Turner Doctor in Phisick* . . . (Cologne, 1568); John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1597); William Ram, *Rams Little Dodeon, a Brief Epitome of the New Herbal* . . . (London, 1606); Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam* . . . (London, 1628); John Evelyn, *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (London, 1699).

⁹⁹ Evelyn, *Acetaria*, p. 108. The great Robert Boyle presented a paper on salads to the Society.

¹⁰⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 220 (entry for May 12, 1662).

¹⁰¹ Eleanor Sinclair Rhode, *The Old English Gardening Books* (London, 1924), pp. 3, 39-41.

¹⁰² Fuller, *Worthies*, II, 274.

¹⁰³ Spencer Savage, "The 'Hortus Floridus' of Crispijn van de Pas the Younger," *The Library*, 4th ser., IV (1924), 181.

herbalists of the Low Countries, especially Rembert Dodoens, Charles de l'Ecluse, and L'Obel. "The most famous English herbal, Gerard's, is virtually a translation of the *Pemptades* of Dodoens." Henry Lyte's translation of Dodoen's *Cruydtboek* was the standard work on herbs in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and Parkinson "incorporated a large part of de l'Obel's unfinished book in his *Theatrum Bontanicum*."¹⁰⁴

Engineers from the Low Countries altered the face of England and shamed the British by their industry, "which makes them seem as if they had a faculty from the worlds Creation out of water to make dry land."¹⁰⁵ Dutch engineers like Vermuyden, Westerdijk, and Kievet put submarginal and marsh lands into production.¹⁰⁶ Dutch investors backed, among other similar ventures, the drainage projects of the Zeelander Cornelius Vermuyden in York, Lincoln, and the Great Level of the Fens; a single Dutchman is said to have invested £3,000 in the drainage of the Isle of Axholm.¹⁰⁷ Richard Weston, in about 1645, brought out of Flanders "the Contrivance of Locks, Turnpikes, and tumbling Boyes for Rivers."¹⁰⁸ Charles II, during a yachting party on September 11, 1680, had a discussion with Pepys on how it came "to pass that England has at all times served itself with strangers for engineers."¹⁰⁹ By far the majority of those foreign engineers were Flemings.

Dutch influences altered the patterns of English life in both basic and trivial matters. New industries meant new commodities; new tools and scientific instruments made new tasks possible. New ideas emanating from Dutch thinkers gave direction to British thought. New eating habits and new drinking habits became established. The Dutch word "brewery" took the place of the English word "brewhouse," and even the vaunted Norfolk dumpling was a Dutch innovation. In 1662, Pepys and Evelyn for the first time saw ice skating as we know it today.¹¹⁰ The stylish ruffle of the reign of Elizabeth and the widespread use of lawn and cambric can both be traced to the Low Countries, as can the use of starch.¹¹¹ On the streets, the new coach from Antwerp, often pulled by mares from Flanders, appreciably changed the London scene.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Eleanor S. Rhode, *The Old English Herbals* (London, 1922), p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ Feltham, *Brief Character*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence E. Harris, *Vermuyden and the Fens* (London, 1953), evaluates the engineering genius of Vermuyden. See also Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers* (London, 1897).

¹⁰⁷ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p. xlv.

¹⁰⁹ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 382; Evelyn, *Diary*, I, 394.

¹¹¹ Stowe, *Survey*, pp. 467-68, 869; NED, IX, pt. i, 832.

¹¹² John Taylor, *All the Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet* (London, 1630), p. 240; Gervase Markham, *Cheape and Good Husbandry for the Well-Ordering of All Beasts . . .* (London, 1616), p. 43.

The Flemish strangers themselves gave a colorful twist to English history. Some were sober and hard-working artisans; some were godly and walked with the saints; but others were more of the flesh than of the spirit. It required a troop of soldiers to remove one group of Dutch prostitutes from a manor house, which they had purchased for business purposes.¹¹³ Some of the newcomers were merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, engineers, architects, and doctors; others were freaks, acrobats, artists, and entertainers. Some sank down into the depths of the London underworld while others rose to mingle with the high and the mighty. One, Isaac Doreslaer, helped brief the legal arguments that sent Charles I to the scaffold;¹¹⁴ another, John de Critz the second, lost his life before Oxford fighting for the Royalist cause.¹¹⁵ A doctor of Dutch descent and Leiden trained, Baldwin Hamey the Younger, treated one of Cromwell's generals for a venereal disease and used part of his wealth to buy back a father's ring for an exiled king and to endow the Royal College of Physicians. He and a Dutch colleague were among the few men in the medical profession who did not desert their London posts during the plague.¹¹⁶

An attempt has been made here to place in proper perspective the great debt that Britain owes to the Flemish Low Countries during the period in which modern Britain was developing. In some ways, the Flemings played a role in modern English history not unlike that exercised by the Normans during the Middle Ages. The Low Countries were the bridge over which many European concepts and customs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries crossed into England. Normandy had accomplished a like service in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. England was to follow suit in relation to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as European thought was given a definite British tinge before it came to Boston and Philadelphia, so did the characteristics of the Renaissance and Reformation receive Flemish overtones before they arrived in Norwich and London.

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¹¹³ Nicholas Goodman, *Hollands Leagver: or an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia, the Arch-Mistries of the Wicked Women of Eytopia* (London, 1632); Shackerley Marmyon, *Hollands Leagver: An Excellent Comedy* (London, 1632).

¹¹⁴ *DNB*, s.v.

¹¹⁵ Poole, "The de Critz Family," *Walpole*, II, 56.

¹¹⁶ *DNB*, s.v.; Keevil, *The Stranger's Son*, pp. 116-17, 145.

Trends of United States Studies in Latin American History*

CHARLES GIBSON AND BENJAMIN KEEN

I

WHEN United States historians in the first half of the nineteenth century began to give attention to Latin America, professional and public interest in the subject was confined almost wholly to the colonial period. The Latin American independence movements and the creation of new national states received notice in United States political and journalistic writing but remained largely unattractive to historians until the twentieth century. Within the colonial period, United States preferences were expressed in the selection of a limited number of themes, among which the discovery by Columbus and the two conquests by Cortés and Pizarro predominated. These lent themselves to the prevailing romanticism of United States historical writing. In the hands of Washington Irving and William H. Prescott they achieved a remarkable popularity.¹ It may be suggested that the reception accorded to these topics coincided with an effort to disassociate America from the more complex history of Europe, where in the absence of clear-cut starting points no such dramatic or episodic reconstruction at a point of origin could be achieved. In practice, discovery and conquest were far more accessible, bibliographically speaking, than were any subjects of the later colonial or postcolonial periods, and they fit more easily the sense of nostalgic admiration for the Hispanic past that characterized United States romanticism. The first two United States historians to deal seriously with topics outside the United States—Irving in the *Life of Columbus* and Prescott in *Ferdinand*

* This article combines papers read by the two authors at the session on "Latin American Historiography: A Progress Report" of the meeting of the American Historical Association on December 28, 1955. The session was arranged by Dr. Howard F. Cline, to whom the authors express their thanks for a critical reading of the first version of this combined paper. In the light of other commentaries made upon this presentation it seems appropriate to state explicitly that (1) no serious student of Latin American history should depend exclusively upon work written in the United States, and (2) the authors' emphases and critical observations in this article depend upon evaluations that are in part subjective and with which there is not a universal agreement.

¹ Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, 3 vols. (New York, 1828); Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés*, 3 vols. (New York, 1843), and *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas*, 2 vols. (New York, 1847).

and *Isabella*—both selected Hispanic themes and both wrote of the American discovery.² A compatibility between the subjects chosen and the wider ambient of United States literary taste is suggested further by the fact that Irving and Prescott, each independently of the other, undertook researches on the conquest of Mexico in the 1830's. Only after Irving relinquished the topic did Prescott complete his famous work.³

The tendency to concentrate upon the spectacular and early themes of Latin American history survived the romantic age and remained dominant through the first years of scientific historiography in the United States. The writings of Justin Winsor, John Fiske, and John Boyd Thacher at the turn of the nineteenth century illustrate the application of scientific, or incipiently scientific, methods to standard romantic themes. Even Hubert Howe Bancroft, from whose monumental work much of the twentieth-century historical writing on Mexico and Central America has derived, devoted more attention to the period of Cortés' lifetime than to the whole of the remainder of prerevolutionary New Spain.⁴ Discovery, conquest, and exploration—the last reflecting interests in areas of the United States previously under Spanish authority—were topics wholly suited to scientific research. They possessed apparently controllable bibliographies; their historiographical tradition included much nonsense that could be satisfactorily debunked; they comprised that portion of colonial Latin American history of which everyone had heard. Conquest especially fit the familiar conception of Hispanic America as a land that had never fully emerged from the brutality of its colonial past. And the continued dependence of United States students upon the themes of the romantic age goes far to explain their nearly absolute neglect of Brazil.

In the early twentieth century the first major United States scholar in the study of the Latin American sixteenth century was Edward Gaylord Bourne. He designed *Spain in America* primarily to inform the American reading public on those features of Hispanic colonial history pertinent to the history of the United States. Bourne's emphasis, like that of his predecessors, lay in Spanish North America, but he was additionally concerned with the trans-

² Irving, *op. cit.*; Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1839). See Prescott's own remarks on this coincidence in the preface of *Ferdinand and Isabella*.

³ See the correspondence exchanged between Irving and Prescott in 1838–1839 and further commentary in George Ticknor, *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Philadelphia, 1875), pp. 157–63.

⁴ Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. (Boston and New York, 1884–1889); Fiske, *The Discovery of America, with Some Account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York, 1892); Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains, As Revealed by Original Printed and Manuscript Records . . .*, 3 vols. (New York and London, 1903–1904); Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 6 vols., *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, IX–XIV (San Francisco, 1883–1888).

mission and modification of European institutions, topics that were then at the forefront, significantly, in Anglo-American colonial history as well.⁵ With Bourne the continuity of subject matter from the nineteenth century was not wholly broken, nor were Bourne's researches conducted in isolation, as the contemporaneous work of Woodbury Lowery and George Parker Winship testifies.⁶ Bourne's merit lay in the originality and acumen with which he interpreted sources, in the objectivity of his observation, and in the critical insights he applied to Spanish colonization prior to 1580. He did not pursue his subject in detail beyond the sixteenth century, but he did succeed, through an unequivocally scholarly presentation, in laying a positive assessment of early Hispanic colonization before the American public. He may justifiably be termed the first scientific historian of the United States to view the Spanish colonial process dispassionately and thereby to escape the conventional Anglo-Protestant attitudes of outraged or tolerant disparagement.

Bourne was the author of a single major work. Following his death in 1908, leadership in Hispanic colonial history shifted from the east to the west coast, and its character underwent some changes. Bernard Moses, whose early study (1898) of Spanish rule in America had been undistinguished, later made an admirable effort in the *Spanish Dependencies in South America* and *Spain's Declining Power in South America* to establish a chronological structure for the entire colonial period as soundly developed as that for the sixteenth century.⁷ Moses, to be sure, lacked the perspicacity of Bourne. He offered the first course in Latin American history in the United States, and his writings betray a classroom proclivity hardly comparable with the erudition and maturity of Bourne. It is true that he embraced a large subject with enthusiasm and fortitude, but it is equally true that his writings are no longer read; subsequent monographic studies have corrected and complemented them at many points. A large part of the monographic literature of Moses' later period continued to reflect particular interests in

⁵ Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580, The American Nation: A History*, III (New York and London, 1904), and "The Relation of American History to Other Fields of Historical Study," in H. J. Rogers, ed., *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904* (New York, 1906), II, 172-82.

⁶ Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York and London, 1901), and *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562-1574* (New York and London, 1905); Winship, ed., *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, from the City of Mexico to the Grand Canon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska, as Told by Himself and his Followers* (New York, 1904).

⁷ *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America: An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America* (New York and London, 1898), *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilization* (New York and London, 1914), and *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (Berkeley, 1919).

areas of the United States previously under Spanish authority: the eighteenth-century Texas of Herbert E. Bolton,⁸ Spanish California of Irving B. Richman and Charles E. Chapman,⁹ Louisiana and the Philippines of James A. Robertson,¹⁰ and the Louisiana-Texas frontier of Isaac J. Cox.¹¹ Two of the monographs of this same period, moreover, remain among the foremost ever produced in the United States: Herbert I. Priestley's *José de Gálvez*¹² and Clarence H. Haring's *Trade and Navigation*.¹³

Separating Hispanic American history as an autochthonous entity, disciplining its method, and educating the historical profession to regard it seriously were the tasks confronting the United States Latin Americanists of the second decade. The process in its early stages was part and parcel of a broadening of American, i.e. United States, history in several new directions. The relation of those labors of Bolton, Chapman, Robertson, and Cox to the prevailing regionalism of United States history is close and evident. The United States connection may as clearly be seen in the bibliographies of the period, beginning in 1907 with William R. Shepherd's *Guide* to Spanish archives and the similar work of J. A. Robertson for American transcripts, through the Bolton *Guide* to Mexican archives, Roscoe R. Hill's compilation for Cuban material on the United States, and the Chapman *Catalogue* for the Southwest and Pacific coast.¹⁴ Only following this bibliographical preparation, organized principally under the direction of J. Franklin Jameson and the Carnegie Institution Department of Historical Research and focused

⁸ *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., III (Berkeley, 1915).

⁹ Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (Boston and New York, 1911); Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California: The Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783* (New York, 1916).

¹⁰ Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1911); Emma H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1903-1909).

¹¹ *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, 2 vols. (Austin, 1906-1913).

¹² *José de Gálvez, Visitor-general of New Spain (1765-1771)*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., V (Berkeley, 1916).

¹³ *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918); see also his pioneering work, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century* (London, 1910).

¹⁴ Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 91 (Washington, 1907); Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to the History of the United States, Which Have Been Printed or of Which Transcripts Are Preserved in American Libraries*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 124 (Washington, 1910); Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 163 (Washington, 1913); Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba Deposited in the Archivo general de Indias at Seville*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 234 (Washington, 1916); Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo general de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., VIII (Berkeley, 1919). See also Hill, *American Missions in European Archives*, Pan American Inst. Geog. and Hist., Commission on Hist., Pub. 22 (Mexico, 1951).

on United States history in regions or as a whole, did the exclusively Hispanic American bibliographies—first of R. Hayward Keniston and then of Cecil Knight Jones—make their appearance.¹⁵ The transition from a domestic to a borderland to an exclusively Latin American context characterized United States research of the first quarter of the twentieth century and set it sharply apart from the work of Europeans and Latin Americans.

The act that most strikingly signalized the separation of professional Hispanic American history—particularly, at first, in its colonial aspects—as a specialty in United States scholarship was the founding of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati in 1916.¹⁶ The publication of this periodical from 1918 to 1922 and from 1926 continuously to the present ranks as an achievement of the Hispanic Americanists of the United States equaled by those of no other non-Hispanic nation. The *Review's* early issues, corresponding to the interests of its editors, were concerned to a large degree with colonial subjects. The articles and book reviews of the first issues reveal the historians' professional attitudes at this critical moment. They express the enthusiasm aroused by the discovery and demarcation of a new historical field, a field, however, that in its practical cultivation was not yet clearly separated from the Hispanic antecedents of the United States. A preponderant interest in Latin America still depended—and would for many years continue to depend—upon the connection with Florida or Georgia, Texas or California.

Encompassing this regionalism, seeking to identify its common denominators, and relating it to the totality of America, there appeared in the 1920's the only over-all interpretation of Hispanic American history ever devised in this country. The celebrated unitary hemisphere thesis of Herbert E. Bolton was developed during its author's early years at the University of California. Bolton's publications of the period dealt principally with colonial Hispanic America in relation to areas of the modern United States. *The Colonization of North America*, written in collaboration with T. M. Marshall, appeared in 1920, shortly after Bolton began his lectures on the history

¹⁵ Keniston, *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic American History* (New York, 1920); Jones, *Hispanic American Bibliographies, Including Collective Biographies, Histories of Literature and Selected General Works* (Baltimore, 1922). The second edition of the latter, greatly expanded, is entitled *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies*, Library of Congress, Hispanic Foundation, Latin American Ser., 2 (Washington, 1942).

¹⁶ Charles E. Chapman, "The Founding of the Review," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I (1918), 8–20; William Spence Robertson, "Introduction," in Ruth Lapham Butler, *Guide to the Hispanic American Historical Review, 1918–1945* (Durham, N. C., 1950); Lesley Byrd Simpson, "Thirty Years of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (1949), 188–204; Howard Cline, "Reflections on Traditionalism in the Historiography of Hispanic America," *ibid.*, pp. 205–12.

of the Americas, and this work was followed by a series of monographic and documentary publications on the Spanish borderlands, Georgia, the Pacific coast, the Southwest, and northern Mexico in late colonial times. Bolton's *History of the Americas: A Syllabus with Maps* (Boston, 1928) and his "Epic of Greater America"¹⁷ presented the doctrine of hemispheric homogeneity. Argued principally in terms of the colonial materials of his specialization and resembling to some degree the Turner thesis of frontier history (with which it has frequently been compared and with which it was not unrelated), the unitary hemisphere thesis depended for its acceptance upon definition, upon selected levels of generalization, and upon a philosophical interpretation of unity and diversity in history, problems in which Bolton himself was not profoundly interested. His own forte, continuously demonstrated until his death in 1953, lay in vivid narrative history. His achievement is measurable in a lengthy series of historical writings and in his wide influence and inspiration, to which more than a generation of historical students have given repeated testimony.¹⁸ The influence concentrated heavily on the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Its geographical concern was principally with Mexico and the United States Southwest. Topically, it emphasized exploration and the institutions of the Hispanic colonial frontier. Thus though the followers of Bolton accepted the doctrine of American unity, they did not in their monographic writing, any more than Bolton himself in his, explore the Hispanic portion of the hemisphere systematically or uniformly through space and time. Neither did the Bolton thesis receive that detailed critical reexamination at the hands of Bolton's students that might otherwise have been expected, nor were effective rebuttals forthcoming from other, alternatively oriented, students of the area. It is symptomatic of the condition of American history in the 1920's and 1930's that the major critiques of the Bolton thesis came from Latin America itself.

The first two decades of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, the period of the editorship of J. A. Robertson, formed a period of concentration,

¹⁷ *American Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1933), 448-74.

¹⁸ Bolton's writing to 1940 and the writings of his students to 1944 are listed in *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), pp. 537-672. It should be added that modern hemispheric histories, to a greater or lesser degree influenced by the Bolton theses, combine Latin American and Anglo-American materials. Outstanding examples are John F. Bannon, *History of the Americas* (New York, 1952); Harold E. Davis, *The Americas in History* (New York, 1953); Vera Brown Holmes, *A History of the Americas from Discovery to Nationhood* (New York, 1950); Robert S. Cotterill, *A Short History of the Americas* (New York, 1939). Further, the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History has since 1947 undertaken a comprehensive "Program of the History of America," with the collaboration of historians in Europe, the United States, and Latin America. See "The Problem of a General History of the Americas," *Rev. hist. América*, No. 34 (Dec., 1952), 469-89; Silvio Zavala, "Colaboración internacional en torno de la historia de América," *ibid.*, Nos. 35-36 (1953), 209-26; "El programa de historia de América," *ibid.*, No. 39 (June, 1955), 133-214.

specialization, and elaboration in monographic work on the colonial period. Political biography appeared in Arthur S. Aiton's study of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Arthur F. Zimmerman's study of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo.¹⁹ The institutional history of sixteenth-century New Spain received the close documentary attention of L. B. Simpson, whose studies of *encomienda* and *repartimiento* initiated a new and exceptionally productive series of publications at the University of California.²⁰

The important researches of the period between the two World Wars included the political studies of Charles H. Cunningham and Lillian Estelle Fisher on *audiencias*, *viceroyalties*, and *intendancies*, and the financial and commercial documentation provided by E. J. Hamilton and Roland Dennis Hussey on price systems and the Caracas Company. Intellectual and literary history was represented in the work of Irving Leonard, particularly in his biography of Sigüenza, and in John Tate Lanning's study of academic culture in the Spanish Colonies.²¹ The same period witnessed the concluding volumes of Roger B. Merriman's history of the Spanish empire, a work falling in an older tradition, with emphasis upon royalty and political and military narrative, and almost unique among United States scholarly writings for its perception of Old World Spanish and Spanish American relations.²² Among textbook writers, whose growing numbers called attention to the acceptance of the subject in United States colleges and universities, the individual who expressed the most sympathetic feeling for the colonial period was C. E. Chapman. His *Colonial Hispanic America* was a text in the Bolton manner, the foremost single volume on its subject for a number of years and still, despite some peculiarities, far from a worthless book.²³

¹⁹ Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N. C., 1927); Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938).

²⁰ *The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XIX (Berkeley, 1929) and *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, 3 vols., *Ibero-Americana*, 7, 13, 16 (Berkeley, 1934-1940) (Vol. II, Pt. III concerns *repartimiento*). Simpson's *Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950) is an extensive revision of his 1929 volume; see the review article by Robert S. Chamberlain in *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1954), 238-50, evaluating Simpson's volume and other contributions to *encomienda* literature.

²¹ Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies as Illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila (1583-1800)*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., IX (Berkeley, 1919); Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XV (Berkeley, 1926) and *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1929); Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, Harvard Econ. Stud., XLIII (Cambridge, Mass., 1934); Hussey, *The Caracas Company, 1728-1784: A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade*, Harvard Hist. Stud., XXXVII (Cambridge, Mass., 1934); Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XVIII (Berkeley, 1929); Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (New York, 1940). See also in this period Philip Ainsworth Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780* (New York and London, 1932).

²² *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918-1934).

²³ *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (New York, 1933). The development of textbooks

As a group, the leading monographs and general works of the twenties and thirties explored Hispanic America less superficially than their predecessors. They escaped the connection with the United States more successfully, and in several instances their historiographical contributions are of enduring value. They still concentrated heavily on selected political and economic institutions; they barely touched seventeenth-century history; and despite the many endorsements of the term "Hispanic" America,²⁴ colonial Brazil remained for them a peripheral area, remote and unexplored.

During the past fifteen years in the United States, new students have been attracted to colonial Latin American studies in large numbers, but the claims of the national period now far exceed those of any previous era, and as a result, interest in colonial history has proportionately declined. The fact that the time span of colonial history remains static, whereas that of national history becomes greater with each passing year has contributed to a relative recession in colonial studies. "The time should be approaching," in the words of a recent text, "when less attention need be given to . . . the colonial era."²⁵ Many colonial subjects, in other words, are becoming antiquarian from a textbook point of view, and the accelerating pace of modern Latin America tends to place colonial history progressively farther in the background. There is an unmistakable tendency to locate the three colonial centuries in a category of the antecedent.

On the other hand, the positive achievements in colonial scholarship of the past fifteen years have been impressive. A new journal, *The Americas*, began publication in 1944. A series of extraordinarily illuminating studies by Lewis Hanke was climaxed in 1949 by *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia), a fundamental work in imperial socio-intellectual history and one that has already gone far to modify the traditional American susceptibility to the anti-Hispanic "Black Legend." The work of Whitaker, Hussey, Lanning, and others opened another socio-intellectual subject, that of the Enlightenment.²⁶ R. H. Barlow's important researches in the codex literature of Mexico were the first in the United States to combine ethnological and historical techniques after the manner of Seler, Aubin, and other European scholars.²⁷ The history of colonial art

and teaching in Latin American history is treated in Jorge Basadre's introduction to *Courses on Latin America* (Washington, 1950), pp. v-lxxiii.

²⁴ "The Term 'Latin America,'" *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I (1918), 464-67. The point here is that "Hispanic" refers to both Spain and Portugal rather than to Spain alone.

²⁵ Mary W. Williams, Ruhl J. Bartlett, and Russell E. Miller, *The People and Politics of Latin America* (Boston, 1955), p. vi.

²⁶ Arthur P. Whitaker, et al., *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (New York and London, 1942).

²⁷ Barlow, *The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexicana, Ibero-Americana*, 28 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949). Barlow's extensive periodical writings occur in the *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia, Tlalocan*, and other journals.

in the works of Robert C. Smith, Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, Harold E. Wethey, and George Kubler is principally the accomplishment of the last fifteen years.²⁸ The California historians, Sherburne F. Cook, Lesley Byrd Simpson, Woodrow W. Borah, and others, have recently exposed a whole new world to colonial Latin Americanists in their analyses of population, economy, and human ecology in early colonial Mexico, demonstrating scholarship of a type unique in this country, without counterparts in Latin America or Europe, informed by the "auxiliary" techniques of economics, demography, and anthropology.²⁹ Discovery, exploration, and conquest, of course, continue to be reexamined, as in Samuel E. Morison's work on Columbus, Henry R. Wagner's biography of Cortés, and Robert S. Chamberlain's meticulous studies of Yucatan and Honduras.³⁰ The recent period has seen also the first serious monographs on colonial Brazil, beginning with Alexander N. D. Marchant's *From Barter to Slavery*.³¹ Many additional scholars are currently active; their numbers do not appear to have been depleted, and the omission of their names here carries no disrespect. Their over-all tendencies appear to be in the direction of rectifying long-standing prejudices against Spain, of detailing actual colonial behavior in the New World (as against the "ideal" behavior of the laws), and of understanding Indian-Spanish or Indian-Portuguese relations in local American environments.³²

The period since 1940 has also provided new occasions for surveys of the

²⁸ Smith and Elizabeth Wilder, *A Guide to the Art of Latin America* (Washington, 1948); Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture, 1521-1821* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949); Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, Yale Hist. Pubs., Hist. of Art, V, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1948).

²⁹ Cook and Simpson, *The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, Ibero-Americana, 31 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948); Cook, *Soil Erosion and Population in Central Mexico*, Ibero-Americana, 34 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949); Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression*, Ibero-Americana, 35 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

³⁰ Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1942); Wagner, *The Rise of Fernando Cortés*, Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, New Ser., No. 3 (Los Angeles, 1944); Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 582 (Washington, 1948), and *The Conquest and Colonization of Honduras, 1502-1550*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 598 (Washington, 1953).

³¹ *From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore, 1942).

³² Ralph L. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 548 (Washington, 1943); France V. Scholes, et al., *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel: A Contribution to the History and Ethnography of the Yucatan Peninsula*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 560 (Washington, 1948); George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., 6 vols., Smithsonian Inst., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 143 (Washington, 1946-1950), II, 331-410; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952); Howard Cline, "Mexican Community Studies," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 212-42; Mathias C. Kiemen, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, 1954).

total colonial scene. For colonial Hispanic America, two general works represent the mid-twentieth-century achievement. The *Latin-American Civilization, Colonial Period* of Bailey W. Diffie is the first successful attempt in the United States to see colonial history in the large, to analyze and detail its underlying principles, and to incorporate its cultural expression in an historical synthesis. The *Spanish Empire in America* of Clarence H. Haring offers our soundest and most comprehensive formulation of the institutional history of colonial times.³³ There is a sense in which such general treatments depend upon the continued publication of special studies, but there is a sense also in which this is not true, and the original research and comprehensive orientation of the works mentioned render each an independent scholarly production. As single-volume interpretations of the entire colonial period, they meet simultaneously the needs of the specialist and the nonspecialist for accurate summary information.

II

We have noted that the modern period of Latin American history held little interest for United States historians until the twentieth century. Actually, if we exclude two marginal fields within this period that have perhaps received their fair share of attention—the revolutionary era and the diplomatic relations of Latin America with the United States—it may be said that intensive study of modern Latin American history in the United States is a development of only the last few decades. The reasons that have led North American scholars to neglect the modern and favor the colonial period of Hispanic American history are not difficult to enumerate. The colonial period has enjoyed the advantage of those romantic themes of discovery, conquest, and exploration indicated above. The geographic unity and continuity in time of the colonial period have also caused historians to favor it over the republican era, whose “turbulence and kaleidoscopic political changes make it difficult to find a continuity in development and to appraise the long-run significance of individual events.”³⁴ Finally, for a variety of reasons, the colonial historian, especially of the sixteenth century, has enjoyed a decided advantage in respect to published and unpublished source materials. In part, at least, this last condition has had its roots in the traditionally aristocratic structure of Latin American society and politics. “A sense of loyalty to political and family connections has unquestionably made

³³ Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization, Colonial Period* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945); Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947).

³⁴ Sanford A. Mosk, “Latin America and the World Economy, 1850–1914,” *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, II (1948), No. 3, 54.

its influence felt in the selection of records to be preserved and to be made available to scholars."³⁵

The first three decades of this century produced little significant writing on the modern period of Latin American history by United States authors. The few notable works that come to mind, such as Justin H. Smith's *The War with Mexico* and Dana G. Munro's survey of the Central American area,³⁶ were generally confined to regions in which the United States had large interests; occasionally, as in the case of Smith's book, they displayed a certain nationalistic bias. A unique exception was the sturdy monograph by John F. Cady on Argentina's mid-century troubles with Europe.³⁷ Research in the revolutionary era, on the other hand, made a promising debut in this period with the publication in 1908 of William S. Robertson's monograph on Miranda, the foundation for his later superb biography of the Venezuelan hero.³⁸

The appearance of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1918 did not materially alter the balance between the colonial and modern periods in United States historiography dealing with Latin America. A survey of the contents of this review between the two World Wars reveals a continuing overwhelming emphasis on colonial, revolutionary, and diplomatic topics. It was perhaps symptomatic of the state of affairs that as late as 1930 Percy Alvin Martin had to deplore the tendency of some critics to declare that "the Hispanic American republics have no history worthy of the name," and that "the task of the historian . . . is finished when he has adequately investigated the colonial period and the wars of independence."³⁹ Martin practiced what he preached, contributing to the *Review* articles on such varied modern topics as the career of José Batlle y Ordóñez and the causes of the fall of the Brazilian Empire, but few followed his example.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, historical writing on modern Latin America could record certain advances in the period between the two World Wars. Progress was made in detaching the field from the orbit of United States diplomatic and regional history and in developing some understanding of the economic and

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Smith, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1919); Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America, Their Political and Economic Development and Their Relations with the United States* (New York, 1918).

³⁷ *Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850: A Study of French, British, and American Policy in Relation to the Dictator Juan Manuel Rosas* (Philadelphia, 1929).

³⁸ "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907* (Washington, 1908), I, 189-539; *The Life of Miranda*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1929). His interest in this period also produced *Iurbide of Mexico* (Durham, N. C., 1952).

³⁹ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, X (1930), 413.

⁴⁰ These few, however, included such distinguished names as C. E. Chapman, C. H. Haring, A. K. Manchester, W. W. Pierson, and M. W. Williams.

social factors in Latin America's historical evolution. In the twenties appeared the first scholarly national histories—Herbert I. Priestley's *The Mexican Nation* (New York, 1923), Charles E. Chapman's *A History of the Cuban Republic* (New York, 1927), and Sumner Welles's *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924* (2 vols.; New York, 1928). As was to be expected, these pioneer works dealt with countries in the United States sphere of interest and were rather heavily weighted on the diplomatic or political side. It was also natural that Mexico, not only for reasons of proximity but because its history seemed to reveal most clearly a true clash of political and social ideals, should attract the largest share of scholarly attention. Wilfrid H. Callcott's *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857* (Durham, N. C., 1926), followed by his *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857-1929* (Stanford, 1931), and two socio-economic studies written with much historical perspective, George M. McBride's *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923) and Frank Tannenbaum's *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York, 1929), were among the important contributions in this field. To these should perhaps be added the studies by Lillian Fisher on the marginal zone between the late colonial and early republican periods in Mexico.⁴¹ Another group of books, departing from the academic formula of emphasis on diplomatic relations, subjected to critical analysis the record of United States economic dealings with selected Latin American countries; these "Studies in American Imperialism" included Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony, A Study in Sugar* (New York, 1928); J. Fred Rippy, *The Capitalists and Colombia* (New York, 1931); and Charles D. Kepner and Jay Soothill, *The Banana Empire* (New York, 1935).

The coming of age of Latin American history in the United States in a certain sense may be said to date from the thirties, a decade that saw the launching of the indispensable annual *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1936-) and a general increase of bibliographical activity in the Latin American field.⁴² This intensified bibliographical effort made possible more adequate study of the national period of Latin American history, an area in which great confusion and obscurity had prevailed even in respect to printed, not to mention unpublished, sources. Simultaneously, historians began to accord a somewhat greater share of attention to the period since independence. The appearance of two collaborative works edited by Alva C.

⁴¹ See in addition to the works cited above (fn. 21) her volume on *The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence* (Boston, 1934).

⁴² Among the bibliographical aids published in this period, *The Economic Literature of Latin America*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1935-1936) was of special interest to students of modern Latin America. For a useful survey of activity in the late thirties, see M. M. Wise, "Development of Bibliographical Activity during the Past Five Years: A Tentative Survey," in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 13-26.

Wilgus, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935) and *South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence* (Washington, 1937), suggested a laudable desire to provide serviceable works of synthesis on the national period. The same tendency was reflected in a well-intentioned but not altogether felicitous project for translation into English of selected Latin American national histories. Within the national period, some improvement in areal and topical emphasis became evident in the publication of J. Lloyd Mecham's massive study of *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934) and Mary Watters' *History of the Church in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933)—the first serious studies of an important subject. The curtain of neglect that had hidden modern Brazil from historical view began to rise with the publication of Alan K. Manchester's *British Preëminence in Brazil, Its Rise and Decline* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933) and Mary W. Williams' life of *Don Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1937). Within the modern period, however, attention continued to center heavily on diplomatic and revolutionary topics. Particularly fruitful work was accomplished in the thirties in the investigation of foreign influence on the Spanish American revolutions, a subject which John Rydjord, Charles C. Griffin, and William S. Robertson cultivated with distinction.⁴³

Despite these advances, it must be said that as of 1940 the literature in English on the history of modern Latin America was pitifully meager, the great bulk of this writing was devoted to diplomatic or revolutionary topics, and much of it was narrowly political in scope or superficial in treatment. Fortunately, students could supplement the purely historical material with the works of anthropologists, economists, and other social scientists whose researches in this period often illuminated aspects of Latin American reality ignored by the professional historians. Some of these valuable studies were Mark Jefferson's *Peopling the Argentine Pampa* (New York, 1926), George M. McBride's *Chile: Land and Society* (New York, 1936), Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village* (Chicago, 1930),⁴⁴ João F. Normano's *Brazil: A Study of Economic Types* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), Eyler N. Simpson's *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1937), and Simon G. Hanson's *Utopia in Uruguay* (New York, 1938).

Only since 1940 can a major shift in emphasis and interpretation in the

⁴³ Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain: An Introduction to the War for Independence* (Durham, N. C., 1935); Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937); Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939). In this tradition also is Benjamin Keen, *David Curtis DeForest and the Revolution of Buenos Aires* (New Haven, Conn., 1947).

⁴⁴ Oscar Lewis has challenged some of Redfield's main conclusions in his *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana, Ill., 1951).

writing of United States historians on Latin America be detected. A statistical analysis of the material published since that date would almost certainly show a relative decline in the number of books and articles dealing with colonial and revolutionary topics and a corresponding increase in the volume of writing on the national period. Such an analysis would probably also show some movement of historical attention from Mexico and Middle America to South America. Equally important, but less susceptible to measurement, there is evidence of a growing awareness of economic, social, and cultural factors on the part of United States historians who specialize in the modern period of Latin American history.

This tendency is even apparent in writing on the revolutionary era, in which not long since political, military, and diplomatic themes held absolute sway. Charles C. Griffin has broken new ground here with a broadly suggestive essay on the economic and social aspects of the era of Spanish American independence.⁴⁵ Harold A. Bierck has described the struggle for the abolition of slavery in Gran Colombia.⁴⁶ Arthur P. Whitaker devotes considerable attention to economic and intellectual factors in *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941), and Gerhard Masur takes note of these influences in his life of Bolívar⁴⁷—the best biography of the Liberator available in English up to the present time.

Turning to the historiography of the national period since 1940, we note that Mexico continues to lead in the number of investigations. The vast panorama of the Mexican Revolution has proved a particularly alluring subject to North American scholars. The extremely divergent conclusions reached in such notable works as Frank Tannenbaum's *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread* (New York, 1950) and Howard F. Cline's *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) illustrate the controversial nature of this topic. Biographical studies of leading Mexican personalities have multiplied. The versatile Ralph Roeder has written a distinguished but not definitive account of *Juarez and His Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1947); the martyred Madero has received sympathetic as well as scholarly treatment at the hands of Charles C. Cumberland and Stanley R. Ross.⁴⁸ Even lesser figures have found their competent biographers.⁴⁹ Walter V. Scholes brings a stimulating sociological approach to the Mexican *Reforma*

⁴⁵ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (1949), 170-87.

⁴⁶ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 365-86.

⁴⁷ *Simon Bolívar* (Albuquerque, N. M., 1948).

⁴⁸ Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution: Genesis under Madero* (Austin, 1952); Ross, *Francisco I. Madero, Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York, 1955).

⁴⁹ See for example T. E. Cotner, *The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792-1854* (Austin, 1949), and Frank A. Knapp, *The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889: A Study of Influence and Obscurity* (Austin, 1951).

in his article, "A Revolution Falters: Mexico, 1856-1857."⁵⁰ Other North American scholars who have written on modern Mexican topics in recent years include N. L. Benson, R. W. Frazer, C. H. Gardiner, and R. B. McCornack.

The interest aroused by the dramatic course of events in Argentina since the Nationalist Revolution of 1943 has focused historical attention on that country in the past decade. Ysabel F. Rennie's *The Argentine Republic* (New York, 1945) lucidly sketches the economic and social background of political developments. A book of major importance, perhaps comparable in significance to Charles A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* for the historiography of the United States, is Miron Burgin's heavily documented study of *Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820-1852* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946). We have acquired a life of Sarmiento by Allison W. Bunkley and a study of Mitre by William H. Jeffrey,⁵¹ but definitive biographies of these two makers of modern Argentina still need to be written. The interest and controversy engendered by *Peronismo* find expression in recent studies by Robert Alexander and George I. Blanksten.⁵² Arthur P. Whitaker has written a brief but penetrating survey of *The United States and Argentina* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954)—a book of broader scope than its title suggests—that is now supplemented by his *Argentine Upheaval: Perón's Fall and the New Regime* (New York, 1956).

Harris G. Warren has told the Paraguayan story in a readable book that does not neglect social history, and Russell H. Fitzgibbon includes much historical matter in his genial portrait of Uruguay.⁵³ We still lack an adequate history of Brazil, but various aspects of this vast field have been studied in recent years by A. K. Manchester, Alexander Marchant, Richard Morse, T. W. Palmer, and Stanley Stein, among others. The Andean region—virtually a *terra incognita* to United States historians before 1940—has only begun to obtain the recognition that it merits. Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and South America, The Northern Republics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), is a useful survey of the area. David Bushnell's *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954) illustrates the kind of careful, intensive investigation that is needed in all aspects of modern Latin American history. A work of much value to historians is James J. Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley, 1949). We possess only one

⁵⁰ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 1-21.

⁵¹ Bunkley, *Life of Sarmiento* (Princeton, 1952); Jeffrey, *Mitre and Argentina* (New York, 1952).

⁵² Alexander, *The Perón Era: An Interpretation* (New York, 1951); Blanksten, *Perón's Argentina* (Chicago, 1953).

⁵³ Warren, *Paraguay, An Informal History* (Norman, Okla., 1949); Fitzgibbon, *Uruguay, Portrait of a Democracy* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1954).

substantial work on Venezuela—George S. Wise's study of Antonio Guzmán Blanco.⁵⁴ The situation with respect to Ecuador and Peru is equally unsatisfactory. George I. Blanksten's book on *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley, 1951) deals mainly with the very recent period. Only one aspect of Peru's history—the *Aprista* movement—has received serious attention from United States scholars; the literature of the subject includes contributions by Frank Tannenbaum, Robert E. McNicoll, and Harry Kantor.⁵⁵ For material on Bolivia, one must look almost exclusively to nonhistorical writings, notably Olen E. Leonard's sociological study, *Bolivia: Land, People, and Institutions* (Washington, 1952). United States historians have sadly neglected Chile; we can cite only one outstanding monograph, John R. Stevenson, *The Chilean Popular Front* (Philadelphia, 1942).

A most significant development in United States historical writing on modern Latin America since 1940 has been the rapid growth of economic history, which before 1940 could boast only of such isolated achievements as Hanson's book on Uruguay and Normano's study of economic Brazil. This trend reflects in some degree the interest aroused in recent decades by the energetic efforts of some Latin American countries to transform their economies; it has certainly been stimulated by the writings of historically-minded economists like Sanford A. Mosk, George Wythe, and Henry W. Spiegel.⁵⁶ Much credit in particular is due the journal *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, edited since 1947 by S. G. Hanson, which has encouraged this type of research by publishing articles of historical as well as current interest. Miron Burgin summed up the point of view of this new school in 1947: "It is only when the economic past of the Latin American countries is reconstructed that the processes of current political and institutional development can be fully understood."⁵⁷ J. F. Rippy made an even more ambitious claim for the economic interpretation when he wrote in the preface to his *Latin America and the Industrial Age*: "Science and technology largely determine the rise and fall of nations. The impact of foreign science and technology upon Latin America is a major episode in modern history which no one who aspires to understand world history can afford to ignore."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Caudillo: A Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco* (New York, 1951).

⁵⁵ Tannenbaum, "Agrarismo, Indianismo, y Nacionalismo," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII (1943), 394-423; McNicoll, "Intellectual Origins of Aprismo," *ibid.*, 424-40; Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement* (Berkeley, 1953).

⁵⁶ Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1950); Wythe, *Industry in Latin America* (New York, 1945); Spiegel, *The Brazilian Economy: Chronic Inflation and Sporadic Industrialization* (Philadelphia, 1949). To these should perhaps be added H. Foster Bain and Thomas Thornton Read, *Ores and Industry in South America* (New York, 1934), and the series written for the United States Tariff Commission, *The Foreign Trade of Latin America*, 3 pts. (Washington, 1940-1941).

⁵⁷ "Research in Latin-American Economics and Economic History," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, I (1947), No. 3, 3-22.

⁵⁸ (New York, 1944), p. viii.

Since those words were written in 1944, a small army of researchers has joined Rippy in the work of unearthing the buried facts of Latin American economic history and appraising their significance. The variety of topics studied appears from the following sampling: as noted above, Miron Burgin has explored the economic background of Rosas' Argentina; George Wythe has described the beginnings of the factory system in Latin America;⁵⁹ David M. Pletcher has written on "The Building of the Mexican Railway";⁶⁰ Howard Cline has investigated the manufacturing, sugar, and henequen episodes in Yucatecan economic history;⁶¹ William H. Gray has told the story of "Steamboat Transportation on the Orinoco";⁶² John J. Johnson has recorded the beginnings of telegraphy in Chile;⁶³ Robert L. Gilmore and John P. Harrison have studied early steam navigation on the Magdalena River;⁶⁴ J. P. Harrison has traced "The Evolution of the Colombian Tobacco Trade to 1875";⁶⁵ Stanley Stein has probed into the causes of the decay of the coffee industry in the Paraiba Valley of Brazil;⁶⁶ and Watt Stewart has employed a biographical approach to Peruvian economic and social history.⁶⁷ In the light of these studies and others not cited, we suggest that Burgin would even now need to qualify his statement, made nine years ago, that "Latin America of the past 150 years is virtually a *tabula rasa* to the economic historian."

In the field of social history, almost everything remains to be done. Tom B. Jones has illuminated life and manners in nineteenth-century South America from travelers' accounts in his *South America Rediscovered* (Minneapolis, 1949); Madaline Nichols has written a pioneer study of the gaucho;⁶⁸ Watt Stewart has recorded the tragic plight of Chinese coolies in Peru.⁶⁹ A notable study is Sidney W. Mintz's reconstruction of the culture history of a Puerto Rican plantation—a good illustration of the use of anthropological techniques in the writing of social history and of the general utility

⁵⁹ "The Rise of the Factory in Latin America," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1945), 295-314.

⁶⁰ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (1950), 26-62.

⁶¹ "The Aurora Yucateca and the Spirit of Enterprise in Yucatan, 1821-1847," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (1947), 30-60; "The Sugar Episode in Yucatan, 1825-1850," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, I (1948), No. 4, 79-100; "The Henequen Episode in Yucatan," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, II (1948), No. 2, 30-51.

⁶² *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1945), 455-69.

⁶³ *Pioneer Telegraphy in Chile, 1852-1876* (Stanford, 1948).

⁶⁴ "Juan Bernardo Elbers and the Introduction of Steam Navigation on the Magdalena River," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII (1948), 335-59.

⁶⁵ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 163-74.

⁶⁶ "The Passing of the Coffee Plantation in the Paraiba Valley," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 331-64.

⁶⁷ Henry Meiggs, *Yankee Pizarro* (Durham, N. C., 1946).

⁶⁸ *The Gaucho, Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance* (Durham, N. C., 1942).

⁶⁹ *Chinese Bondage in Peru, A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874* (Durham, N. C., 1951).

of cross-fertilization in the social sciences.⁷⁰ On the margin between social and intellectual history lies Richard Morse's article on the changing cultural climate of São Paulo since independence—an essay that treats with a rare sophistication the relation of intellectual to economic and social phenomena.⁷¹

The history of ideas—a field of study for which Latin American historians have shown a distinct affinity—has been strangely neglected by North American scholars working in the modern period. We lacked even an introduction to the subject until the appearance of William R. Crawford's *A Century of Latin-American Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944). Only with difficulty can one compile a list of more than a few significant contributions to this field: these include Morse's above-mentioned article on São Paulo, Philip D. Curtin's fine study of "The Declaration of the Rights of Man in Saint-Domingue, 1788-1791," and Patrick Romanell's somewhat technical study of the Mexican mind.⁷² Providing a corpus of source material for the study of Latin American historical evolution in a wide range of fields is the collection of translated sources brought together by Benjamin Keen.⁷³

Among works of synthesis published since 1940, we must single out Harry Bernstein's *Modern and Contemporary Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1952), which documents in a very careful way the impact of regional economic rivalries upon the political development of the countries with which it deals. If one had to level any criticism against an exploratory work of such solid worth, it would be to note its failure to give adequate attention to the influence of European and North American technology and capital in the shaping of modern Latin America and its relative slighting of cultural factors in the modern history of this area.

III

The present needs and future prospects of Latin American studies in this country will probably bear more significantly upon the national than upon the colonial period. Without carrying the emphasis to extremes, the present authors believe that today's tendencies in national history are salutary and that the long tradition of colonial concentration has not yet been redressed in modern times.

⁷⁰ "The Culture History of a Puerto Rican Sugar Cane Plantation: 1876-1949," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 224-51.

⁷¹ "São Paulo since Independence: A Cultural Interpretation," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1954), 419-44.

⁷² Curtin, *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (1950), 157-75; Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1952). Curtin has recently published *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Society, 1830-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

⁷³ *Readings in Latin-American Civilization, 1492 to the Present* (Boston, 1955).

That the colonial tradition was itself unbalanced goes without saying. Probably most Latin Americanists of the United States would agree that the heavy stresses of that tradition upon conquest, upon exploration, and upon "borderland" areas, while wholly understandable, need not qualify as directional guides for the future. So far as the detail and chronology of historical research are concerned, these subjects come as close to being "exhausted" as any in Latin American history.

In what Hispanic Americanists habitually indicate as "background" studies, the researches of United States students have concentrated on the American aborigines at the expense of the Hispanic peninsula. For the former, the historical profession must acknowledge a long-standing debt to archaeology and anthropology and to the vast organized labors of such bodies as the Carnegie Institution and the Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology. The impressive gains in twentieth-century knowledge of the American preconquest "background" have not stimulated historians to comparable researches in postconquest aboriginal history, where great lapses in knowledge extend through both colonial and national periods. As for the peninsular "background," the record of American historians is fragmentary at best, and no associated disciplines have come forth to fill this breach. The tendency is still to regard American history from the fixed starting point of the discovery and to depend upon selected and outmoded categories of preliminary peninsular material. This tendency has been conspicuously reversed among some historians in Spain and Portugal and to a certain extent among historians in Latin America, but United States scholars have made only a bare beginning at following their example.⁷⁴

United States contributions to *encomienda* studies have been impressive, but we are still far from a thorough understanding of that institution. Individual *encomiendas* need to be examined in their operating detail over long periods, when possible, and at carefully chosen geographical locations. The related subject of tribute, both in its *encomienda* form and in its royal form, is capable of sustaining a far more intense scrutiny than any yet accorded it in the United States or elsewhere. The entire problem of postconquest relations between Spaniards and Indians, of which *encomienda* and tribute are two aspects, stands in need of systematic, precise examination. The subject comprehends political rule, economic interchange, acculturation

⁷⁴ Henry C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily—Naples—Sardinia—Milan—the Canaries—Mexico—Peru—New Granada* (New York, 1908); Julius Klein, *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920); Charles Julian Bishko, "The Iberian Background of Latin American History: Recent Progress and Continuing Problems," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (1956), 50–80. For United States Luso-Brazilian trends see *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, Washington, October 15–20, 1950* (Nashville, 1953), especially pp. 167–335.

and deculturation, peonage, and a variety of other labor institutions, as well as rates of change in spatial and temporal dimensions.

In political and social history, colonial studies suffer from a neglect of the seventeenth century. The convention is to dwell on the beginning and the end, to pass rapidly from the aftermath of conquest to the precursors of independence. The convention is natural and by no means confined to the Latin Americanists of the United States. In Anglo-American history, a compressed but otherwise equivalent period falls roughly between the 1690's and the Great Awakening. Such periods cannot conveniently be attached either to the colonial foundations or to the independence movement, and in Latin America, where colonial foundations occurred early and independence occurred late, the intermediate vacuum is the more pronounced. United States students have deplored this situation, but sound seventeenth-century studies remain rare.⁷⁵ If, as is frequently stated, the seventeenth century served as a period of test for socio-political experiments undertaken in the sixteenth century, that proposition itself remains untested. The seventeenth century's basic demographic trends are still matters of conjecture. Its urban-rural relationships are vague. Its social classes and family structure and the extent of its ethnic fusion are unknown. The seventeenth century as a whole—and to it we may add large portions of the eighteenth century—needs all its particular data enlarged and all its generalizations reexamined.

The present situation in colonial economic history may be described as respectable but erratic. Imperial commerce, selected industries, and price systems have been the objects of some excellent studies. Local economies, land utilization, urban markets, plantation systems, and private fortunes are examples of subjects imperfectly examined or wholly neglected. Existing studies in local economies relate predominantly to Mexico, and abundant research needs to be accomplished in the remainder of Latin America. Here as in political history it is the colonial scene itself, rather than the imperial supervision of it, on which our knowledge is most deficient. United States students have been less guilty than their colleagues in Spain and Latin America of identifying the imperial legislation with the colonial reality, but they have not been wholly innocent nor has confusion been wholly eliminated. It appears increasingly likely that dependence upon the *Recopilación de leyes* and other pancolonial digests has created an overestimation of the uniformities in the American scene. Equivalent dangers lurk in studies of colonial intellectual history, where peninsular impositions in a less codified

⁷⁵ See L. B. Simpson, "Mexico's Forgotten Century," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXII (1953), 113-21; Howard F. Cline, "The Terragueros of Guelatao, Oaxaca, Mexico: Notes on the Sierra de Juárez and its XVIIth Century Indian Problems," *Acta Americana*, IV (1946), 161-84.

form have surely diverted attention from the manifold colonial varieties. In all these topics, the situation in Brazilian studies may be said to be similar to those of Spanish America but more acute.

We believe that the evidence of recent years justifies a modest satisfaction with the present trends and future prospects of historical writing on modern Latin America in the United States. But only a beginning has been made; the list of problems that call and compete for attention is endless. Our comprehension of the process of Latin American independence is still inadequate; the causal factors and particularly the economic and social aspects of this great movement are still poorly understood. In the national period, there is a serious need for more intensive study of the economic and geographic bases of regional rivalries, *caudillismo*, and the Liberal-Conservative cleavage so characteristic of nineteenth-century Latin America—phenomena that the textbooks too often explain with political clichés.

In view of the great importance attached to the problem in contemporary Latin America, a high order of priority should perhaps be assigned to the study of the influence for good and evil of foreign capital and technology on Latin America during the past century. In this connection, there is a clamorous need for company histories and biographies of entrepreneurs like Minor C. Keith and Percival Farquhar, written with the candor, objectivity, and thoroughness that the sensitivity of the subject requires. Again, in view of the current agitation over land reform in Latin America, studies are needed on the historical evolution of land systems in the national period—as has been done to some extent for the colonial period by Silvio Zavala, François Chevalier, and others. In the field of social history, themes still awaiting intensive investigation include European immigration since independence and its varied effects, the history of the modern Latin American city and of urbanization in general, the development of trade unionism, and the sociological effects of the shift from the nineteenth-century patriarchal estate to the impersonal, corporation-owned plantation of today.

In addition, we should like to call attention to one of the greatest voids in historical writing on modern Latin America—cultural or intellectual history. United States historians seem to have ignored the fact that in Latin America, even more than in some other parts of the world, the writer and artist have consciously employed books, paintings, and philosophies as weapons in political and social struggles and have often themselves been statesmen and even warriors. To be sure, we have some excellent histories of Latin American literature,⁷⁶ music, and art, but they approach their sub-

⁷⁶ See especially Samuel Putnam, *Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing* (New York, 1948).

jects principally from an aesthetic point of view. What are needed are studies along the lines of those made by Alejandro Korn, José Ingenieros, and José Luis Romero in Argentina, Ricardo Donoso in Chile, and Leopoldo Zea in Mexico—studies that would relate the movement of literature, art, and ideas to their political, economic, and social background.

In both the colonial and the national history, students continue to confront the problems of travel, of time, of linguistic and other training, and of admission to archives. Problems of travel and time surely account in part for the preference of colonial students for “borderland” studies and for the relative neglect of large parts of South America. Few students enter the colonial field sufficiently grounded in the medieval and Renaissance history of the Hispanic peninsula, in anthropology, in paleography, or in the Indian languages in which much of the early local history is recorded. The Portuguese language is itself an obstacle for those who halt their training with Spanish. A large number of historical subjects require research not only in Latin American but in Hispanic peninsular depositories. In the one as in the other, the student has at his disposal a growing but still meager collection of catalogues and guides to assist his practical work. Latin American archives tend to be labyrinthine and chaotic beyond the imagination of scholars accustomed to the orderly bibliographical habits of the United States. Hours are short, national holidays are frequent, and access often depends upon the cultivation of personal connections. Students of the modern period feel even more acutely, perhaps, than their colonialist colleagues the lack of adequate guides and archival materials, since the well-known traditional preference of Latin American historians, bibliographers, and archivists for colonial and revolutionary topics has seriously hindered the preservation and organization of archival records and the publication of guides to printed or manuscript materials dealing with the modern period. Progress is being made in this direction,⁷⁷ but much more remains to be done. It is almost unnecessary to add that students of modern Latin American history would be greatly aided by some acquaintance with the economic history, sociology, anthropology, and geography of the area—qualifications which relatively few of them possess at the present time.

Finally, mention may be made of a traditional ideological obstacle to research in the modern period: the view that the history of the Latin American republics since independence is drab, confused, and pointless by contrast with the glamorous epic of the mighty Spanish empire with its well-defined lines of institutional development. In part this belief reflects the lingering influ-

⁷⁷ See the valuable work of Roscoe R. Hill, *The National Archives of Latin America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

ence of nineteenth-century romanticism, with its stress on exotic themes of a bygone age; in part it stems from a certain aristocratic tradition in Latin American historiography—happily now in decline—which views with nostalgia the glories of *La Colonia* and *La Independencia* and turns its back on almost all that has occurred since the death of Bolívar. Fortunately, this belief in the general insignificance of modern Latin American history is rapidly disappearing. In recent decades at least, some Latin American states have begun to grapple vigorously with their problems, as a result of which their history has gained in interest, and intensive investigations have begun to show that the apparent anarchy and futility of much nineteenth-century Latin American history conceal meaningful economic and social conflicts and the stirrings of a new life.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The James Gallatin Diary: A Fraud?

RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.

SOME years ago, when I was starting work on a biography of Albert Gallatin, I came across an extraordinary volume, *The Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, A Great Peacemaker, 1813-1827*, edited by Count Gallatin and published in London and New York late in 1914. It seemed all that an aspiring biographer could pray for—rich source material concerning the years of Albert Gallatin's diplomatic service in Europe that apparently had not been available to his previous biographers, Henry Adams and John Austin Stevens. Here were piquant and colorful episodes—seductions, midnight assignations, illegitimate offspring, shootings, murders, and all manner of scandal—acted out in European courts by some of the nineteenth century's most celebrated personages: Napoleon Bonaparte, Wellington, Louis XVIII, Alexander I, Lafayette, Madame de Staël, Betsy Patterson, Alexander von Humboldt, Chateaubriand, Talleyrand, and many others. It was as much fun to read as a French novel.

In the preface, Count Gallatin explained that thirty-nine years before, in 1875, his grandfather had handed him "a large sealed packet, telling me it contained his Diary . . . also many important documents. I was not in any case to publish any part of it until 1900. . . . It lay unopened and nearly forgotten until last year. On reading it, I found it of the deepest interest. This decided me (after weeding out large portions and suppressing anything that might offend) to offer it to the public."

The sponsorship of the *Diary* seemed faultless enough to satisfy the most fastidious scholar. The eminent James Bryce in an introduction praised it as "a singularly fresh, frank, and vivid record," because its author was "a detached observer . . . in character more of a Genovese than an American, [who] was able to survey men and things with an impartially critical eye, which in its youthful confidence spared nobody, except his father. . . ." The material was published in part in the September and October, 1914, issues of *Scribner's Magazine*¹ and a few months later in book form by Charles Scrib-

¹ "A Diary of James Gallatin in Europe," *Scribner's Magazine*, LVI, 350-66, 468-81.

ner's Sons. In Great Britain it was published that November by the important house of William Heinemann.

On both sides of the Atlantic, the critics approved. The reviewer for the London *Athenaeum* called it "an unpretentious and perfectly genuine diary . . . well worth reading for its sidelights on the period,"² while in the *Spectator* it was described as "a very interesting and amusing book."³ In this country, the *New York Times* spoke of it as "a gay and sprightly chronicle."⁴ Reviewing it for this journal, Carl Russell Fish declared that "in general . . . the diary bears on its face the evidence of its authenticity. . . . No other material has made Albert Gallatin so living a figure."⁵

Sales of the book did not measure up to the acclaim. Heinemann printed an edition of two thousand copies which remained in print until 1921.⁶ The present officers of Scribner's have no memory or record of its fortunes with their house, but it was successful enough to warrant a second edition in 1916.⁷

The influence of the *Diary* has been wide and deep. Copies are to be found in the libraries of many American towns and cities that possess no other biographical volumes about Albert Gallatin. It is listed as recommended reading in such standard college textbooks as Morison and Commager's *Growth of the American Republic*, and a quotation from it is included in the text of that volume.⁸ Scarcely a writer on American diplomacy of the early nineteenth century—from the dean, Samuel Flagg Bemis,⁹ to fledgling Ph.D.'s—has failed to use the *Diary* as a source. Material in it has attained currency far beyond scholarly circles. For example, one episode, attributing gross table manners to the first John Jacob Astor, was used by Harvey O'Connor in *The Astors* (New York, 1941); Raymond Postgate picked it up for his *Story of a Year: 1848* (New York, 1956), which gave *Time* magazine an occasion to retell it in its April 2, 1956, issue.

Despite this general acceptance, the authenticity of the *Diary* has often been questioned on many details. In his approving review, Fish observed that "the text of the diary is obviously not pure," and he called attention to several "aberrations" for which he held the editor responsible. In 1927, a correspond-

² London *Athenaeum*, Jan. 9, 1915.

³ London *Spectator*, Jan. 16, 1915.

⁴ *New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1915.

⁵ *American Historical Review*, XX (1915), 864-65.

⁶ William Heinemann, Ltd. to author, Oct. 5, 1955.

⁷ Wallace Meyer of Charles Scribner's Sons to author, Sept. 26, 1955.

⁸ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager (New York, 1950), I, 431, 768.

⁹ For example, Bemis, in his book *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), cites it once (p. 187) and quotes directly from it four times (pp. 192, 193, 203, 217) during his account of the negotiations at Ghent, saying that the *Diary* is "not without historical value."

ent of *Notes and Queries* of London wrote that "among the entries in the diary . . . are many expressions that seem to me to throw doubt on its authenticity as a whole." He cited half a dozen expressions that were not in use at the time the diary was supposed to have been written.¹⁰ Four years later, in the Paris *Figaro*, Claire-Elaine Engel pointed out that many of the persons described in the *Diary* as having been at Coppet, Switzerland, on January 21, 1815, are known, on the basis of standard sources, to have been elsewhere at the time. "An apocryphal journal," Miss Engel concluded the *Diary* to be, compiled "at an indeterminate date. . . ."¹¹ Duff Cooper, in his biography of Talleyrand, observed that the *Diary* has James Gallatin sitting opposite Talleyrand in London in March, 1827, although "Talleyrand was certainly not in England between the years 1794 and 1830."¹² More recently, Bemis, although he uses the *Diary* as a source for his account of the peace negotiations at Ghent in his biography of John Quincy Adams, admits that he is puzzled. A letter which Castlereagh wrote to Liverpool says that he had not seen any American commissioners while passing through the Flemish city, whereas the *Diary* reports that he had "a long conference" there with Albert Gallatin. "I am inclined to accept the categorical statement of a man of Castlereagh's weight," Bemis concludes.¹³ It would be possible to cite many more such demurrers.

My own disillusionment with the *Diary* began in the course of a conversation with the late Albert Eugene Gallatin, the distinguished painter and art collector, and great-grandson of the original Albert Gallatin. Mr. Gallatin told me that, not long after the First World War, he and his cousin Mr. Albert Gallatin, the New York writer on archaeology, conducted an extensive search through the archives and collections of Britain and the Continent for the original manuscript of the *Diary*. They were unable to find any trace of it or anyone—not even among the officers of Heinemann—who had ever seen it. He advised using it sparingly, if at all, suggesting that James Gallatin *might* have left a diary, but that, if he did, it had been "touched up" to make it more salable. Other members of the family offered the same advice.

Subsequently I learned of two scholars who were working in the field of Franco-American history who regarded the *Diary* skeptically. Professor G. de Bertier de Sauvigny of l'Institut catholique de Paris, an authority on the Bourbon Restoration, told me that he considered the *Diary* worthless to a scholar, for it was riddled with obvious inaccuracies about the French political and social scene. Dorothy Mackay Quynn of Frederick, Maryland, who

¹⁰ London *Notes and Queries*, CLII, 159–60.

¹¹ Paris *Figaro*, July 16, 1931.

¹² Cooper, *Talleyrand* (London, 1937), p. 387.

¹³ Bemis, *op. cit.*, p. 203 n.

is preparing a biography of Betsy Patterson, wrote that she had found that the *Diary's* many references to her subject did not check with other sources.

As I picked my way through the extensive source material now available which bears on Albert Gallatin's career between 1813 and 1827, I reached the conclusion that the *Diary* is a complete fraud. It would require a text nearly half as long as the *Diary* itself to set forth all the reasons. For economy of space perhaps it is best to undertake merely to establish the proposition that the *Diary* is not the work of James Gallatin and was not written earlier than 1879.

Neither the literary style in which the *Diary* is written nor the personality it displays of its supposed author jibes with the style or personality of James Gallatin exhibited elsewhere. Among the Gallatin Papers now at the New-York Historical Society are scores of letters in the handwriting of James, many of them dated in the years that the *Diary* is supposed to cover. The style of the *Diary* is polished and skillful, characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; that of James's manuscript letters is commonplace, such as might be expected of an unimaginative youth of the early nineteenth century. The James of the *Diary* is a dashing playboy who loves Europe and despises his native land; the James of the letters and other sources is a man who, although reluctant to leave Europe, gives no hint of profligancy and, indeed, spent most of his adult life in the United States as a respectable banker, returning to Europe only at the age of seventy-two.

It seems unlikely that the *Diary* was written earlier than 1879—in other words, at least three years after James Gallatin died—because so much of the material in it is obviously drawn from two works which Henry Adams published in that year. These are *The Life of Albert Gallatin* and *The Writings of Albert Gallatin*.

In the introduction to the *Diary*, Count Gallatin makes much of the "many important documents" left him by his grandfather. Only twenty-nine letters and documents are reproduced in the volume. All but three of these, about which an explanation will be offered later, appear in one or both of Adams' works.

Innumerable entries in the *Diary* simply paraphrase passages in Adams. It would be tedious to cite them all here; it should suffice to examine a characteristic portion, the first ten pages of the section of the *Diary* dealing with Gallatin's mission to France, to demonstrate this:

Page 78: the entry for November 23, 1815, is obviously a rewriting of Adams, *Life*, p. 554.

Pp. 78–80: the letter from Gallatin to Jefferson has been copied from Adams, *Writings*, I, 666–67.

P. 80: the report of Astor's offer to Gallatin of a partnership and Gallatin's

declination of Monroe's offer of the French mission is paraphrased from *Life*, pp. 555-56.

Pp. 81-84: the report of the renewal of the offer of the French mission is copied and paraphrased from *Life*, pp. 556-57, and *Writings*, I, 677-89.

Pp. 84-85: the report of an offer of the secretaryship of the Treasury and Gallatin's declination is obviously based on the *Life*, pp. 557-59, and *Writings*, I, 694-95.

P. 85: the story of the Gallatins' voyage to France and arrival in Paris is material clearly derived from the *Life*, pp. 561-62. However, it is worth taking notice of a discrepancy here. The *Diary* states that the Gallatins sailed on June 10, 1816. Adams' *Life* gives no date for the sailing, but the *New-York Evening Post*, June 11, 1816, states that they sailed on June 11.

Pp. 86-87: the account of the Gallatins' reception by the Duke of Richelieu and Louis XVIII is a paraphrasing of letters reproduced in *Writings*, II, 1-2. There is no evidence anywhere else that James attended these sessions; it appears likely that the paragraphs giving his impressions were written at a later date.

The section of the *Diary* that has been most frequently cited by historians is that covering Gallatin's negotiations at St. Petersburg, Ghent, and London in 1813, 1814, and 1815 (pp. 1-45, 68-77). If someone fabricated the *Diary* after James Gallatin's death, he could find abundant material for the concoction of this section in Adams' volumes (*Life*, pp. 477-80, 493-553; *Writings*, I, 544-647). Yet plentiful as Adams' material is, it leaves the *Diary's* compiler many opportunities to betray himself.

A careful check of the fifty-five pages of this section against seven sources¹⁴ that cover these events reveals no less than thirty-three discrepancies. Some of these discrepancies are matters of date, such as these examples: The *Diary* says that Gallatin called on Count Roumanzoff on October 22, 1813, to tell of his rejection by the Senate; the diaries of both James A. Bayard and John Quincy Adams say that the call was made on November 2. The *Diary* says that Gallatin and Bayard learned on March 6, 1814, while they were at Amsterdam, that the United States had appointed a new commission to deal directly with the British; Bayard records that they first heard of it on February 24, while passing through Berlin. The *Diary* says that the Gallatins arrived in Paris on March 1, 1815; Adams records their arrival as March 7.

The other discrepancies are of many types. A few examples: The *Diary* speaks of Gallatin, unlike his son James, as "having no time to think of being sick" on the May, 1813, voyage to Europe; Bayard says that Gallatin

¹⁴ Sources against which I have checked the *Diary* include: Elizabeth Donnan, ed., "Papers of James A. Bayard," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1913*, II; the Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City; Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, II; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, V; *New-York Evening Post*; Duke of Wellington, ed., *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Duke of Wellington*, IX; *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III.

was a bad sailor and was confined to his cabin much of the time. The *Diary* says that while in London the Gallatins “settled in apartments in Seymour Street”; various letters in the Gallatin Papers give their address as first Albemarle Street and later Portman Square. The *Diary* speaks of the British mission, immediately on its arrival at Ghent, as “lodged in a fine Carthusian monastery”; Adams and Bayard tell that the British settled first at the Hotel du Lion d’Or and moved to the monastery some time later. The *Diary* says that at the Americans’ first meeting with the British the latter “demanded that the Indian tribes should have the whole of the North-Western Territory”; Bayard and Adams record that this demand was not made until the third meeting. Often the *Diary* is curiously vague or silent. J. Q. Adams records that on September 20, 1814, the Americans received a British note written in an “overbearing and insulting tone”; the *Diary* has Gallatin calmly drafting a reply to an earlier note on that day. Adams’ diary records that news of the burning of Washington by the British was received on October 1 and that Gallatin *père* and *fil*s went to Amsterdam on a visit later that month; the *Diary* makes no mention of these two events. Letters in the Gallatin Papers and *American State Papers: Foreign Relations* indicate that Gallatin had an important meeting with Lord Castlereagh on April 16, 1815; the *Diary* has father and son merely twiddling their thumbs in London on this day.

Discrepancies of these kinds are equally numerous in other parts of the *Diary*. But the most amazing section of the volume is that in which an account is given of James’s activities as his father’s secretary in London from August, 1826, to October, 1827 (pp. 256–76). A score of letters in James’s handwriting now in the Gallatin Papers establishes the fact that he did not accompany his father to Europe on this trip but remained in America to attend to family affairs!

If the *Diary* is the fraud that I am convinced it is, by whom was it fabricated? The author, or at least the man responsible for its writing, is, I believe, the “Count Gallatin” who “edited” it and signed its preface—in other words, James Francis Gallatin, grandson of the ostensible keeper of the *Diary*.

James Francis Gallatin was born in New York City on January 2, 1853, the second son of Albert and Harriet Duer Robinson Gallatin.¹⁵ He grew up in Europe, where his father and grandfather were living, and is said to have attended Oxford. James Francis followed no profession, finding life most congenial at the clubs and watering places of England and the Continent. This was made possible for some years by a trust fund, estimated at \$500,000,

¹⁵ For data about the Gallatin family, see William Plumb Bacon, *Ancestry of Albert Gallatin* [New York, 1916?].

derived from the estate of his grandfather and based to a large extent on New York City real estate holdings. But James Francis' dashing bachelor tastes outstripped the income from this fund, and he was in and out of the courts through the years because of his failure to repay sums advanced him by a number of persons, including other members of the Gallatin family. The litigants included his own mother.¹⁶ In 1904 he was involved in a teapot tempest on the Italian Riviera. A charge made by a retired British colonel that he had no right to the title of "count" and had been involved in certain "scandals" in England led to his ostracism from "proper" San Remo society. He retaliated by publishing a pamphlet entitled *Count de Gallatin v. Scandal*, which reproduced a letter indicating that his right to the title of "Count of the Empire" had been recognized at diplomatic functions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He cited testimonials from three English clergymen declaring that they had never heard of his being involved in any scandal. James Francis closed his rebuttal with the statement that he had no desire to be received by proper San Remo society anyway.¹⁷

For such conduct James Francis became known in the American branch of the Gallatin family as "bad Jimmy." One of the oldest living members of the family, Mr. Albert Gallatin, tells me that he remembers overhearing, as a small boy, a family debate on a proposal by "bad Jimmy" that the American Gallatins advance him a considerable sum of money so that he might pay off outstanding debts, with the understanding that he would then keep secret certain information derogatory to the family reputation that had come into his hands. It is Mr. Gallatin's recollection that this attempt at extortion was repulsed.

The Gallatin Papers contain a letter written in 1914 by Viscount Bryce to James Francis Gallatin acknowledging the latter's proposal for a meeting—a meeting that probably led Bryce to write his misleading introduction to the *Diary*. The publication of the *Diary* later that year may have alleviated "bad Jimmy's" financial embarrassments, but only temporarily. When he died in his home in St. Peter's Square, London, on December 4, 1915,¹⁸ his possessions were sold at auction to settle his debts. Included among these—according to the late A. E. Gallatin—were the three items reproduced in the *Diary* that do not appear in Adams' volumes.

Among the American members of the Gallatin family, "bad Jimmy" had the reputation of being a remarkably clever fellow, certainly clever enough to have fabricated the *Diary*. For the writing of the episodes and comments

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Mar. 16, June 12, 1895; *New-York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 23, 1895.

¹⁷ [James Francis Gallatin], *Count de Gallatin v. Scandal* [Menton, France, 1904].

¹⁸ *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1916.

in that book that are not drawn from Henry Adams' two works on Albert Gallatin, a lively imagination, a wide acquaintance with the literature and history of the early nineteenth century, familiarity with Continental ways, and knowledge of Gallatin family traditions were all necessary. James Francis Gallatin, if his reputation is to be believed, possessed all these. In creating a character for the diarist, he had only to put upon paper his own colorful, playboy personality.

Thus it seems clear that the *Diary of James Gallatin* must be considered historical romance, partly derived from fact. Libraries that own copies of it should transfer them to their fiction shelves; no further serious attention should be paid to it by historians and biographers.

New York City

★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General History

SIX HISTORIANS. By *Ferdinand Schevill*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 200. \$5.00.)

THE death in 1954 of Ferdinand Schevill at the age of eighty-six reduced to four the surviving members of the first staff that President Harper gathered in 1892 to start the University of Chicago. There are, I believe, now but two, both long-time friends of the reviewer, A. Alonzo Stagg and Elizabeth Wallace. (The latter's charming autobiography, *The Unending Journey*, gives a vivid picture of those founding days in which Schevill was a participant.) This posthumous gleaning, with notes and summaries of essays still to be written on other historians, is a temptation to divert from the book to a tribute to the author and the perceptive administrator who picked him as a member of that first faculty at Chicago. That is unnecessary for Harper and inappropriate here for Schevill. It should be done in a future volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* if nowhere else.

The six historians here sketched and appraised are Thucydides, St. Augustine (less historian than history maker), Machiavelli ("not an historian" but a political philosopher), Voltaire, Ranke, and Henry Adams. The span is broad in time and kind. As might be expected from one who defined history as a form of literature and wrote a history of Florence, the artistry of each writer is a matter of interest to Schevill. How well they wrote, how well they organized their material, how well they told a story that sustains the reader's interest, how well they reflected and influenced the age in which they lived—these are the norms of judgment. The lifetime teacher shows through unconsciously, for the essays are a guide in how to read and what to read and occasionally what to skip in each author. It is this feature that makes the little volume worthwhile to any graduate student in history. The bibliographies are only suggestive; internal evidence shows that the treatment is fresh and distinctly his own. The essay on Ranke is introduced by several pages on relativism as expounded by Charles Beard in his presidential address to the American Historical Association. Voltaire, as a pathbreaker and as a model in combining literary skill with substance, is naturally a favorite with Schevill. Henry Adams is given merit marks that are almost expunged because of his attempt to make history a science by applying to it the second rule of thermodynamics. No wonder. Your reviewer recalls sitting up late one evening in 1910 trying to read and comprehend Adams' *A Letter to American Teachers of History* and wakening the next morning trying to recall the nightmare that had disturbed his sleep.

The last paragraph in the appendix might well be read as an introduction to the volume and the author. "History still, in the main, is what it has been since

Herodotus invented the form. The major changes are (a) the recent expansion of subject matter and (b) the recent severity of scholarly method. This has led many to call it a science. You may, if you will, call its method scientific, but the finished product is a work of art."

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE DES EXPLORATIONS. Volume II, LA RENAISSANCE (1415-1600). By *Jean Amsler*. (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France. 1955. Pp. 414.)

As the biographical note explains, the author has traveled widely, possesses a physique worthy of the Greek palaestra, and is writing a history of German sports from 1933 to 1945. In fact, he hopes to establish a branch of history to deal with amateur sports (*activités physiques désintéressées*), to be known as physiography. The present work describes the adventurous side of the Renaissance, and in a section evaluating the Spanish conquests it singles out Cortés, Pizarro, and de Soto as a type never seen in Europe except perhaps in Napoleon and probably never to be seen again. These three men, with their many followers, have one trait in common: "l'énergie brute. . . Ils marchent, frappent, bravent, désirent, conquièrent, possèdent, dilapident, recommencent, tombent et meurent. Leur vie n'est qu'action." As the narrative unfolds, all the major explorers and conquerors from 1415 to 1600 have their hour—except the one for whom America was named. Amerigo Vespucci is mentioned briefly a few times, but his career and the circumstances of the naming of the continent are presented, not in a chapter, not in a section, not even in a paragraph with marginal title, but in six lines on page 85. It is hardly enough for the explorer of whom Professor Nowell has recently remarked: "All important factions now agree in reinstating Amerigo as the intellectual giant of the discovery period" (*AHR*, LXI [January, 1956], 358). Is he too intellectual for a physiographer? The Vespuccian controversy has been exceeded in this field of history by only one other, namely, the mystery of the origin of Columbus. Here our author accepts the clever compromise of Madariaga. The so-called "Genoese documents" make Columbus the son of a humble Italian wool-worker. Against this is the curious fact that he could use the Spanish and the Latin languages but apparently never wrote in Italian. Madariaga therefore surmises that Columbus belonged to a family of Catalan Jews who fled from Spain to Italy, settled in Genoa, and still used Spanish in their new home. Amsler presents the theory superbly. It would be fascinating to see what he could do (perhaps in a second edition?) with the still more advanced thesis of Dr. Canoutas, who rejects Gallo and the "Genoese documents" completely and accepts instead Columbus' own claims (as reported by his son) to be of the same noble family and lineage as the famous corsair, Colon the Younger, a Byzantine Greek exile in the service of France.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume II, THE NEW WORLD. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1956. Pp. xi, 433. \$6.00.)

THE second installment of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* covers two centuries in three books; Renaissance and Reformation—the Round World to Gloriana; the Civil War—the United Crowns to the Axe Falls; the Restoration—the English Republic to the Revolution of 1688. During these centuries overseas activities increased and settlements were begun, but the amount of space devoted to them is brief. Not more than fifty pages in all concern experiments in Virginia, the sailing of the Mayflower, and the establishment of middle Atlantic colonies. Indeed, Pennsylvania is dismissed in a couple of lines. The dramatic story of English developments fills the space and is made vivid by the determined, incisive judgments of the author, his surprising vocabulary, and felicitous phraseology. Evaluation of character and event is not avoided. Some appreciation of opposing parties is shown and sympathy toward the loser is often manifested.

The author retells a familiar narrative, with attention to the work of some modern scholars but in the tradition that is as old as Xenophon. Many unfamiliar with English history will read with delight about Churchill's beloved country. Those to whom this is a thrice-told tale will find it not only a mirror of the character and mode of thoughts of its author, himself a not insignificant contributor to its latest chapter, but also a reflection of the lively, ambitious, gifted, and wilful aristocracy who have, like Churchill, done so much for England. His tastes and interests are theirs—like them he has wanted to rule and to be governed only under his own terms.

Churchill often reflects upon character, and one quotation may illustrate this. In describing the restoration of the old constitution after the troubles which followed Cromwell's death, he writes:

Monk was one of those Englishmen who understand to perfection the use of time and circumstances. It is a type which has thriven in our Island. The English are apt to admire men who do not attempt to dominate events or turn the drift of fate; who wait about doing their duty on a short view from day to day until there is no doubt whether the tide is on the ebb or flow; and who then, with the appearance of great propriety and complete self-abnegation, with steady, sterling qualities of conduct if not of heart, move slowly, cautiously, forward toward the obvious purpose of the nation (p. 323).

Churchill is contemptuous of "hot gospel and cold steel": he has no appreciation of the Puritans. Popular theories of the Interregnum receive less sympathy than is accorded either Charles I or the misguided loyalties of James II. Nor does Churchill do justice to the social conscience revealed in leveller tracts or Cromwellian ordinances. He endorses the still dubious assumption of the benevolent intentions toward the poor of the "Eleven Years Tyranny." The liberty and order which he praises are those of the old Gothic society developed by the gentry of

seventeenth-century England, and in his description of its vicissitudes, as in Voltaire's, everything turns out for the best.

The chapters on the English Republic and the Lord Protector are probably the most interesting. In them, Churchill, who often frankly relies upon experts for both material and interpretation, obviously speaks out of his personal experience of modern dictatorships and from a vast familiarity with Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches*. Oliver's "smoky soul" interests him. He deplores his "merciless wickedness" in Ireland and laments the fact that Englishmen must still bear "the curse of Cromwell." The picture is softened by the Protector's amiable family relations, his reputation abroad, his passion for England. Though in "lasting discord with the genius of the race," Cromwell was yet "the sole agency by which time could be gained for healing and growth." He was, indeed, "gigantic, glowing, indispensable."

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION, 1500-1800: THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE. By *A. R. Hall*. (2d ed.; Boston: Beacon Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 390. \$1.75.)

THAT Mr. Hall's book, which appeared first in hard covers in 1954, should be issued as an inexpensive paperback in the excellent series sponsored by the Beacon Press, is an indication that it is attaining the wider audience it deserves. The book is indeed that rare thing, a work that appeals both to the specialist and to the general historian. The greater part deals with what we may call the well-established central concern of a special discipline now fully established, the history of science. This concern is the how, when, and where of the actual "events" of natural science as a human activity. Here, and for a period by no means badly covered by the specialists, Hall does an admirably lucid job, clarifying even for the layman the concrete problems and their resolutions. He gives, for instance, a clear—though inevitably not exactly simple—account of the state of Ptolemaic astronomy just before Copernicus was to undermine it. All the fields, including the biological ones, are treated, though the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are covered more fully than the eighteenth. The chapter very aptly headed "The Principate of Newton" is, however, particularly good.

In three chapters in the middle of the book and in many passages throughout, Hall is concerned with problems of a wider range, problems no one interested in the origins of our modern world can avoid. He is engaged chiefly in bringing out the very great complexities of scientific activity both in itself and in its relations with other kinds of human activity. He gives no simple social or economic explanation, no magic clue to the rise of modern science at this particular point in space and time. Indeed, in his conclusion he insists that although natural science, largely through the technology now so dependent on that science, has been the one clear permanent difference we Westerners have made in the whole world,

we cannot yet really account for this extraordinary achievement. But the book is by no means a negatively critical one, engaged in mere demolition. The author is constantly suggestive, always tentative and open-minded. Notably in his close analysis of how specific "discoveries" were made does he definitely establish the great variety of conditions, internal as well as external, to a given discipline, under which these discoveries came about. There is clearly no single explanation for the formation of the modern scientific attitude, certainly no simple one on Marxist, racist, *wissensoziologisch*, or sectarian positivist lines.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

BISMARCK, GLADSTONE, AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE. By *W. N. Medlicott*. [University of London Historical Studies, IV.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, Inc., New York. 1956. Pp. xiv, 353. \$7.00.)

WITH this admirable monograph, Professor Medlicott continues and completes the study of the diplomatic aftermath of the Near Eastern crisis begun in his earlier book, *The Congress of Berlin and After*. His chief concern is with the brief period between Gladstone's Midlothian campaign and the formation of his cabinet (April, 1880) and the conclusion of the Alliance of the Three Emperors, June 18, 1881. Interpreting "this period of European diplomacy in terms of conflicting German and English programmes, and in a personal sense in terms of the Bismarck-Gladstone rivalry" (p. vii), the author begins with a provocative analysis of the contrasting points of view of these great protagonists, traces meticulously Gladstone's efforts to establish the Concert of Europe as a foundation for permanent peace in connection with the unsettled provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, especially the boundaries of Montenegro and the Greco-Turkish frontier, and examines the parallel negotiation of the *Dreikaiserbündnis* with the utmost care. The dusty details of diplomatic procedure are enlivened by references to the personal equation, public opinion pressures, the economic factor, and especially by a fresh thesis.

That European diplomacy experienced a major turning point in this period is clearer now, as the author acknowledges, than it was to contemporaries. The choice was between Gladstone's faith in the possibility of achieving permanent peace through the Concert and Bismarck's disbelief in anything more than the adjournment of international conflicts. Despite Bismarck's secret hostility, the Concert functioned fairly effectively as a forum for diplomatic discussion, but it failed ludicrously when, as in the international naval demonstration at Dulcigno, it attempted to enforce its decisions against the Sultan's calculated procrastination. No feeling of impending danger strengthened Gladstone's hand, and indeed few were willing to be bothered by the Greek problem. The Concert, as the author points out, ceased to exist when even the Austrians would not support Gladstone in opposing the increase of Alexander of Battenberg's power in Bul-

garia. The fervor engendered during the Midlothian campaign failed to survive the frustrations of actual experience: Gladstone's critics called him the "Mahdi of Midlothian," just as Bismarck spoke privately of the "mad professor." This melancholy tale doubtless needed detailed telling from the resources of the British archives, but it adds little to what already was known.

The contrary is true of the *Dreikaiserbündnis* negotiations, especially the later phase beginning with the Bismarck-Haymerle conversations of September 4 and 5, 1880. Here the author has made a valuable contribution. Fresh material from the archives of the German Foreign Minister (some of which was not used in W. Windelband's monograph on this period), the unpublished correspondence between Giers, the Russian Foreign Minister, and Peter Saburov, and especially the Austrian archives would appear to support his revision of the usually accepted estimate of Bismarck's performance at this time. The full correspondence, he concludes, "does not leave any very convincing impression of his intellectual dominance or moral ascendancy" (p. 327). Homer perhaps nodded in this instance; Haymerle (and Saburov too) was by no means overshadowed, but it may be doubted that the Austrians and Russians could, as the author believes, have adjourned their differences without Bismarck's mediation. Medlicott's judgment of Bismarck's *Realpolitik* is summed up in the concluding sentence: "He had made a deadlock and called it peace."

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

STUDIES IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY IN HONOR OF FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM. Edited by *Frederick J. Cox, Richard M. Brace, Bernard C. Weber, and John F. Ramsey*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 310. \$6.00.)

THESE fourteen essays meritoriously honor Franklin Charles Palm of the University of California, who "inspired a great number of men and women with a love of history and scholarship . . . [and] who trained us in the ways of historical scholarship and friendship." His colleague, the late Herbert E. Bolton, pays tribute in the foreword to his "sound and unusually productive scholarship." Professor Bolton writes: "His disciples have written . . . as testimony of their affection and their admiration for a friendly and inspiring teacher, which is one of the highest awards for a university career."

William Belote is lucid and concise on "Abbé Sieyès on Liberty," though the reviewer had not known that Sieyès was a "silent revolutionary." Sieyès' collaboration with Bonaparte makes questionable his unequivocal and steadfast devotion to liberty. Richard M. Brace's "The Libertarian Crusade of 1792" is a suggestive essay on the "humanitarian crusade of the first revolutionary years" metamorphosed into the "militant Jacobin crusade of 1792." "Art and Politics during the French Revolution: A Study of Three Artist Regicides (Louis David, Sergeant-Marceau, and Gabriel Bouquier)" is further able pioneering in a new aspect of

Revolutionary scholarship by David L. Dowd. John F. Ramsey's "The Judicial Reform of 1788 and the French Revolution" is a well-documented treatment of the role of the Parlement of Paris in the final stages on the road to revolution.

Bernerd C. Weber's "Personalities and Politics at the Court of Henry II of France, 1547-1559" is largely a catalogue of great family names, which shows the high cost to the crown of favorites but gives only a casual treatment of court, national, and foreign politics. Gordon Griffith's "The Vicomte Armand de Melun and the Catholic Social Movement in France, 1848-1851" omits the background of the central figure but is an excellent chapter in social history. "Preparation of a *Coup d'Etat* . . . in France, 1849-1851," by Howard C. Payne, is a competent treatment of the "creeping *coup d'état*" manipulated by the administration and consummated easily in December, 1851. Franklin W. Wallin's "French Naval Conversion and the Second Empire's Intervention in Industry" includes important facts unimaginatively handled. In Daniel L. Rader's "Dubois of the *Globe* (1824-1830)," Dubois does not quite come to life, and the treatment is too compressed for significance.

George Carbone's "The Long Detour: Italy's Search for Unity" is a vivid treatment of Carlo Cattaneo, the Lombard schoolmaster who championed federalism for a united Italy. The bibliographical notes are excellent. "The French Peace Plans, 1918-1919" by Frederick J. Cox is a realistic narrative of French intrigue to win Wilson over to French designs on the Rhine. W. Ward Fearnside's "Citizenship Law in the Third Reich" is a short, clear development of one aspect of Hitler's racial policies. George W. Kyte's "The Blockade of Gloucester in 1781" is on an inconsequential theme that would be improved by more quotations from Du Perron's *Journal*. The little volume is concluded by Edward F. Willis' meaty essay on "Herbert Hoover and the Blockade of Germany, 1918-1919." This *Festschrift* does high honor to the master who taught the contributors their craft.

Macalester College

HUNTLEY DUPRE

Ancient and Medieval History

ANCIENT MYCENAE: THE CAPITAL CITY OF AGAMEMNON. By George E. Mylonas. [The Page-Barbour Lectures for 1955 at the University of Virginia.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 201, 87 plates. \$7.50.)

This book is primarily a first account of the excavation of the new grave circle at Mycenae, beyond the citadel walls. The account is important enough in itself; it is supplemented by discussion of the history of Mycenae and of its archaeological exploration to set these newest discoveries in their proper context. The dust jacket prominently advertises another work on the archaeology of Mycenae—A. J. B. Wace's *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and 'Guide'*. The publisher's judgment that these books are not rivals, but complement one another, is fully

justified. Where they deal with the same materials, Mylonas finds it "necessary to mention only the basic facts regarding them and to elaborate only certain controversial points." In this way Mylonas surveys the walls of the citadel, the palace at its summit, the houses within and without the walls, the chamber and tholos tombs, and Schliemann's famous grave circle, describing, discussing, and illustrating the outstanding monuments. He who has read Wace's guide will follow Mylonas more easily; yet he who reads Mylonas alone will be introduced to the important monuments and problems of Mycenae.

The new grave circle is the subject of the last third of the book. The author weaves together the events of its discovery, the opening of the several shaft graves within it, and a description of their contents, both bones and the often handsome, rich ornaments and offerings found with them. In discussing the tombs' present state and the disposition of the objects in them, he recreates the process of their construction, the interment itself, and the subsequent fortunes of the tombs as they suffered new burials, robbery, natural accidents, and discovery. Among the more important contributions of the book are Mylonas' observations on the burial customs and beliefs of the Mycenaeans, to which he brings the experience of much excavation and a long interest in the subject.

The many plates well illustrate the text and give an admirable foretaste of the eventual publication of pictures of all the treasures from these diggings. The bibliography and annotation are full and will make this book an excellent guide to previous publication. The index is perhaps too copious.

Mylonas has attempted to draw together into one fabric the whole history of Mycenae, from 2500-1900 B.C., "Earliest Occupation and Settlements of Mycenae" to A.D. 1952-1954, "Exploration of the Second Royal Circle." In this fabric the legendary kings of Mycenae, Perseus, Atreus, and Agamemnon, take their place beside the Mycenaeans at Thermopylae and Plataea and the small village still surviving ca. A.D. 300. This attempt has led Mylonas to associate the construction of the more impressive monuments of Mycenae with the more impressive legendary kings of Mycenae. The mixture of widely differing kinds of historical evidence will perhaps appear reasonable only after one has spent some time at Mycenae itself, where its legendary and tangible pasts are easily felt to mingle with its present not inglorious condition.

Yale University

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

DER AUFSTIEG EUROPAS. By *Giacomo Devoto, Antonio Garcia y Bellido, Raymond Lantier, et al.* [Historia Mundi, Band III.] (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag. 1954. Pp. 528. DM 26.50.)

THE third volume of this truly international series consists of thirteen essays by ten contributors from eight different countries. The editors have wisely given each contributor a free hand, contenting themselves with helpful cross references where the discussion overlaps. The reader can thus see for himself how frequently

scholars disagree in their interpretations. A detachable chronological chart and a brief foreword by Fritz Valjavic of Munich are almost the only unifying factors in a volume which ranges over some two thousand years. The chief narrative deals with classical history from Cretan and Mycenaean times to the unification of Italy under Rome. In a chapter on "Crete and Mycenae," Fritz Schachermeyr assumes the validity of Michael Ventris' brilliant hypothesis, but his views may need revision if the recent article of A. J. Beattie ("Mr. Ventris' Decipherment of the Minoan Linear B Script," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXVI [1956], 1-17) finds favor. Other subjects treated in this part are: "European Bronze and Iron Age Cultures" (Pia Laviosa-Zambotti); "The Genesis and Nature of Writing" (Franz Miltner); "The Achaemenid Empire" (Henrik Samuel Nyberg); "Greek and Phoenician Colonization in the Western Mediterranean: Carthage" (Antonio Garcia y Bellido); and "The Celts" (Raymond Lantier).

The longest single contribution is Schachermeyr's chapter on "The History of the Greeks to 356." Perhaps because the author is presently engaged in writing a separate history of Greece, he finds it unnecessary here to support his strongly individualistic interpretation by evidence. Schachermeyr is especially interested in the role of great men in Greek history. At first they served their cities with a devotion bordering on fanaticism. Under the influence of the sophists, however, they ceased to identify their own interests with those of the state and aimed at personal self-sufficiency. There is nothing unusual in this, but the author betrays his own sympathies when he speaks of the petty bourgeois spirit which resented the superiority of great men in oligarchies and democracies alike. Athens and Sparta, he thinks, forfeited all chance for supremacy by distrusting their men of genius, Athens in 407 when she turned out Alcibiades and Sparta in 396 when she rejected the leadership of Lysander. But this is surely an oversimplification. The failure of Athens and Sparta to unite the Greeks is a matter of history; that it came about because of the jealousy of little men for their more gifted fellows is less apparent.

Franz Miltner, in his chapters on Macedonia and the Hellenistic period, is attracted by the great military personalities, to whom he assigns the worthiest motives. Theopompus, who knew more about Philip than any other historian, would scarcely have said that he was "obviously moved by the sacred desire for power for himself and his people, convinced that only by such power could order be established." Miltner's Alexander resembles that of Wilcken rather than that of Tarn. He does add one more suggestion to the many that have already been made for Alexander's visit to Siwah, that he was trying to round out the boundaries of the Persian empire. In discussing the struggles after Alexander's death, Miltner contrasts the older Macedonian viewpoint of Philip with the broader Persian outlook of Alexander. Antigonos, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy are treated sympathetically, but Seleucid policy is sharply criticized for its western emphasis.

Willy Theiler, in his chapter on Greek literature, necessarily leaves out much. In view of what he manages to include, however, it is strange to find no mention

of Hieronymus of Cardia. Is it possible that Beloch's widely criticized views on the superiority of Duris of Samos to Hieronymus are to be revived?

Two chapters carry the narrative of early Roman history: "Ancient Italy," by Giacomo Devoto, and "The Unification of Italy under Rome," by Viktor Pöschl. Both deal with a period in which scanty evidence must be supplemented by educated guesses. There are interesting speculations on the origins of Etruscan civilization and on the old question of the struggle between the orders, a suggestive discussion of the Roman concepts of *fides* and *auctoritas*, and an interpretation of Roman expansion as the search for security. The volume ends with a lucid though lamentably brief chapter on "The Characteristics of Old Roman Religion" by Hendrik Wagenvoort.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

FRÜHES MITTELALTER. By Franz Altheim, Rudolf Buchner, Wilhelm Ensslin, et al. [Historia Mundi, Band V.] (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag, 1956. Pp. 528. DM 28.80.)

So far six volumes of this ambitious History of the World have appeared, and the editor hopes that the remaining four volumes will be out before the end of 1958. The subtitle of this volume, *Frühes Mittelalter*, is more approximate than exact. The three chapters on Western Europe (Ensslin, Buchner, and Tellenbach) extend from the fall of the Roman Empire to ca. A.D. 900, and the two chapters on the Arabs (Gabrieli and Tschudi) describe the life of Muhammad and the spread of Islam down to the fall of the Ummayyads. But such precise chronological limits were not possible for the other chapters. Thus, the history of Scandinavia (Nerman) and of the western Slavs (Hauptmann) is traced to the eleventh century, while that of the nomad peoples of central Asia (De Ferdinandy and Hausig) and of the eastern Slavs (Vernadsky) ends with the Mongol invasions under Jenghiz Khan. The early history of China and India was included in Volume II and the continuation will appear in Volume VIII, except that in the present volume Altheim has contributed a short chapter on the impact of the Greek kingdom of Bactria on northern India. The chapter contributed by Hermann Schneider entitled "Frühgermanische Geisteskultur" is more a work of the imagination than sober history, for only the last part dealing with the Eddas is based on satisfactory evidence. While many pages are devoted to Germanic epic and saga, of which nothing remains except the short fragment of the *Hildebrandslied*, *Beowulf* is dismissed in four lines as a *Buchepos*—by another contributor. The final chapter, "Weltgeschichtliche Einordnung des Frühmittelalters," by Steinacker, contains some shrewd observations. But, like Schneider's chapter, it is obsessed with *Germanentum*, and the attempt to find certain recurrent patterns in history, though fashionable at the moment, coupled as it is with a good deal of philosophical jargon (*Weltrhythmus*, *Dynamismus*, etc.), is unconvincing. In

short, each reader must judge for himself whether these handsome generalizations are either valid or significant.

It is a weakness of this kind of compilation (there are thirteen contributors to the present volume) that there is a certain amount of overlapping and occasional differences in interpreting the evidence. But, in all fairness, it should be added that cross references have been added in the text where more than one contributor has dealt with the same topic. Apart from the two chapters which have been criticized above, the various chapters are well done and authoritative, as far as your reviewer is competent to judge, particularly the two on Islam and Tellenbach's on the Carolingian Age. And yet some general criticisms suggest themselves. The treatment of Latin literature and thought through four centuries is woefully deficient. Boethius and John the Scot receive no mention, Cassiodorus and Bede are dismissed with a few lines each, and it is highly significant that the admirable book, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* by the late E. R. Curtius, is not included in the bibliographies. With all the emphasis on the Germanic debt, is it not strange that the Christian poetry in the vernaculars of the eighth and ninth centuries is passed over in silence? Furthermore, the internal history of the church does not receive adequate treatment. True, Buchner writes well on Gregory I, and Tellenbach's discussion of Charlemagne's reform of the Frankish church and his relations with the papacy is excellent. But little is said about the church in Spain after Isidore (Julian of Toledo is not mentioned), and the various doctrinal disputes of the later eighth and the ninth centuries, except the quarrel with the Greek Orthodox Church in the time of Charles the Great, are ignored. Finally, one could have wished for a fuller treatment of the economic history of the West through four centuries. What is provided is rather scrappy and scattered through several chapters.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

Modern European History

THE FIRST FOUR GEORGES. By J. H. Plumb. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 188. \$4.50.)

THACKERAY, in his lectures on "The Four Georges," remarked upon what he called the "silent revolution" that separated English society of his day from that of the Regency and the reign of the fourth George. Changes, however, were not confined to manners and social customs, which were what Thackeray had in mind. Ideas, too, were changing, ideas on all kinds of subjects, including history. In the field of English constitutional history, for example (as Plumb has observed in another work), nineteenth-century historians imposed a pattern of constitutional development on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of which those centuries were not conscious. It was, for Victorians, an attractive pattern, uncomplicated and simple in its neatness, but it was shot through with historically dis-

torting aftermindedness, and therefore anachronism. The historians who framed it were deficient in what might be called "historical empathy"; they did not get sufficiently inside the minds and hearts of the historical figures with whom they dealt but whom they failed to place adequately in the context of their times.

Twentieth-century historical research, informed by fuller awareness of differences between past and present and among the periods of the past, has been playing havoc with Victorian patterns. In the work of historical reconstruction and reappraisal that has gone on, Dr. J. H. Plumb, a former student of George Macaulay Trevelyan, has lately been performing yeoman service. His previous books, all published within the last six or seven years, include *England in the Eighteenth Century* and biographies of Sir Robert Walpole and the Earl of Chatham; he has also edited and contributed to a collection of essays, *Studies in Social History*, published in 1955 as a tribute to Trevelyan on his eightieth birthday. Plumb is a blend of biographical, social, and political historian. He subscribes neither to the great-man theory of history nor to the common-man theory. He believes that great men, and even small men in great positions, have been significant in the historical process and that common men, even though they remain nameless, cannot properly be left out of account.

And so both kinds of men—and women too—appear in his latest book. In the main, however, he deals here with individuals in the governing classes—with the Georges themselves, of course, with other members of the royal family, and with the politicians who were in and out of office during these four reigns that spanned more than a hundred years of British history. Sumptuously illustrated and with few footnotes, the volume was evidently written primarily for "the curious general reader," for whose benefit, explicitly, a select bibliography was added. Scholars, however, will find much in it to interest them, especially the character sketches, which are products of extensive knowledge and thoughtful reflection and are often challenging and provocative.

New York, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

NORTH COUNTRY BISHOP: A BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM NICOLSON.

By *Francis Godwin James*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 65.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 330. \$4.50.)

THANKS to the leadership of Norman Sykes, a number of excellent biographies of eighteenth-century bishops have appeared since the publication of Sykes's own life of Edmund Gibson. First-rate studies of two archbishops, Tenison of Canterbury and Sharpe of York, and two other leading bishops of Queen Anne, Lloyd of Worcester and Crewe of Durham, have been made. Professor James's biography of William Nicolson, for many years Bishop of Carlisle, is a worthy addition to this company.

Originating in one of Wallace Notestein's seminars, this book bears the stamp of good writing that is the hallmark of so many of Notestein's students, but it

owes even more to Canon Sykes's influence. The works of Sykes and his disciples impress us by the three-dimensional character of the pictures of eighteenth-century ecclesiastical figures which they present. This is fortunately true of James's study of Bishop Nicolson. The extensive correspondence and numerous diaries left by the bishop are used as a foundation for the biography, and from these sources emerges a clear portrait of Nicolson—solid, opinionated, hot-tempered, but honest, capable, and conscientious.

Son of a Cumberland country parson, Nicolson was educated at Queen's College, traditionally hospitable to North Country lads, and he made the most of his stay at Oxford, acquiring a reputation as an Anglo-Saxon scholar. Blessed with influential friends, notably Secretary Williamson and Sir Christopher Musgrave, leader of the Tory interest in Cumberland and Westmorland, Nicolson was offered preferment in his native county, first as archdeacon, then as bishop of Carlisle. Most of his mature life was spent in Cumberland. James gives a thorough and well-documented account of the diocese of Carlisle, its characteristics, its clergy, and the problems which Nicolson faced. He describes effectively the bitter dispute with the able and witty Atterbury, a formidable opponent who was saddled upon the bishop for a number of years as the dean of his cathedral, and the pathetic acceptance of a richer Irish see, which meant voluntary exile for the bishop, then a widower of sixty-two with eight children—hence the necessity for a larger income!

If there is a fault to be found with this biography, it is that James is not quite at ease in the field of politics. The general progress of the bishop's political development from Tory to "Church Whig" is described satisfactorily, but there are three or four disconcerting errors, too minor to be listed here, which seem to betray some unfamiliarity with the political personalities and parliamentary constituencies of the period. These are small blemishes, however, in an otherwise extremely useful work.

The College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume XII, Part I, 1833-1874.

Edited by G. M. Young and W. D. Handcock. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 1017. \$15.20.)

THE volume of *English Historical Documents* covering the mid-nineteenth century, the fifth of the series to appear, follows the plan of the others in presenting excerpts from contemporary sources, divided in this case into twelve sections, with a short introduction and select bibliography for each section and a longer general introduction and select general bibliography at the beginning of the book. The twelve parts cover the monarchy, parliament, economic changes, the churches, Chartism and free trade, law, the central administration, local government, the Poor Law, public health, education, and industrial conditions and legislation. The editors have wisely concentrated their attention on "those social

and political transformations which constitute the central thread of Victorian history" (p. 4). They have excluded colonial and foreign policy, already treated in excellent source collections, and documentation of Irish affairs has been postponed to a subsequent volume. Even so, the formidably abundant materials for the nineteenth century, particularly *Hansard* from 1820 and the *Parliamentary Papers* from 1836, have posed staggering problems of selection. At the same time, they have made possible a richness and fullness of presentation, of which the editors have taken full advantage. Of the 269 documents and excerpts in the book, some of considerable length, nearly half come from the *Parliamentary Papers*, while those drawn from this source plus *Hansard* and the *Statutes of the Realm*, i.e., from government publications of all kinds, make up about three fourths of the total number.

Treatment of individual topics is necessarily incomplete, for a collection of this scope for the nineteenth century can be illustrative only, and there may be some argument as to what should or should not have been included. A selection from so broad a field can scarcely avoid being controversial. Yet what makes the book controversial also constitutes its strength. A narrower and more detailed presentation would have been far less satisfactory. The imagination and breadth of interest displayed by the editors, the variety of their topics and of the types of sources they use, give an impressive cumulative impact to the volume as a whole. The collection is vivid and exciting, difficult to put down; one reads to the end of a section and wishes for more.

The thirteen introductions, the long initial one and the twelve shorter ones, add greatly to the effectiveness of the book. Together they make a narrative and analytical text of about 150 pages, which it would be difficult to improve. Although their stated purpose is merely to place the documents in a context that will render them intelligible, a task which they perform admirably, the editors, in dealing with such large subjects, have, of necessity, grappled with general problems of historical interpretation. In doing this they show great knowledge, including familiarity with results of very recent research, and a maturity and sophistication that place their comments entirely out of the range of the conventional textbook accounts. The volume is an immense achievement of labor and intelligence and should revolutionize the teaching of nineteenth-century English history.

State University of Iowa

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by J. R. M. Butler. GRAND STRATEGY, Volume V, AUGUST 1943–SEPTEMBER 1944. By John Ehrman. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xvii, 634. \$7.82 postpaid.)

THE crucial period of Allied strategic planning between August, 1943, and September, 1944, marked by the first and second Quebec conferences and the

Tehran meeting, is carefully and objectively described in this first of six volumes on strategy to be published in the United Kingdom Military Series. Mr. Ehrman, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has explored the British official and private papers and has drawn on pertinent American documents and published histories. From a historian's viewpoint, the book and the series are somewhat marred by the decision not to cite sources which are unopened to public inspection. This has led authors to hold their citations of published works to a minimum lest it appear that they have relied mainly on secondary sources.

The long debate over Mediterranean versus European strategy and the making and canceling of plans for operations in Southeast Asia and the Pacific dominate the book. There are also interesting accounts of British activities in Greece, the shift of Allied aid from Mihailovic to Tito, Russian failure to aid the Polish uprising in Warsaw, and British efforts to push operations in Italy and the Adriatic. Such problems as diminishing manpower, landing craft shortages, and supply difficulties are discussed to provide proper backdrops for the discussion of strategy. Ehrman outlines briefly but expertly the development of operations in northwest Europe from the early planning stages in 1943 to the slowing of the drive to the Rhine in September, 1944. The debates over strategic air targets in Germany, the landings in southern France, and Eisenhower's broad front strategy are discussed dispassionately.

The author accepts the view that the Allies, in agreeing on basic strategic aims against the enemy, did not need to neglect their individual interests. Thus the Americans agreed with the British that Germany was the main enemy but looked askance at British proposals for operations against Hitler in the eastern Mediterranean. The British for their part did not share Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiasm for aiding Chiang Kai-shek but stressed instead the importance of operations in Burma and the Indian Ocean. Admiral King was uninterested in British offers of naval aid in the Pacific, but London felt it was important that the British have a share in recapturing some of their former imperial possessions.

In explaining major British and American disagreements over strategy, the author wisely says that the British, in years of maritime warfare against continental powers with superior forces, had learned the value of strategic flexibility. The Americans, with a different experience and with greater resources and strength, preferred to follow a single, well-prepared plan. Unlike many writers, Ehrman does not berate one or the other. He is no more willing to censure one of the parties for its strategic approach than to blame one for being an insular and the other a continental power. In short, he has set a high scholarly standard for those who wish to deal with the disputed questions of World War II.

Washington, D. C.

FORREST C. POGUE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series).

Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. FOOD, Volume II, STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL. By *R. J. Hammond*. 1956. Pp. xiii, 835. \$9.29 postpaid. CIVIL DEFENCE. By *Terence H. O'Brien*. 1955. Pp. xvii, 729. \$6.98 postpaid. STUDIES OF OVERSEAS SUPPLY. By *H. Duncan Hall* and *C. C. Wrigley*, with a Chapter by *J. D. Scott*. 1956. Pp. xi, 537. \$6.98 postpaid. THE ADMINISTRATION OF WAR PRODUCTION. By *J. D. Scott* and *Richard Hughes*. 1955. Pp. xii, 544. \$6.98 postpaid. FINANCIAL POLICY, 1939-45. By *R. S. Sayers*. 1956. Pp. xv, 608. \$6.98 postpaid. AGRICULTURE. By *Keith A. H. Murray*. 1955. Pp. xii, 422. \$5.60 postpaid. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York.)

THESE are some of the latest volumes in the Civil Series, edited by Sir Keith Hancock as part of the scholarly official British *History of the Second World War*. Mr. O'Brien's account of *Civil Defence* outlines the experiences of the First World War, records the character of air raid defense planning after 1924, and discusses the development and operation of air raid precautions, emergency fire services, the warning system, the black-out, air raid shelters, and evacuation during the period of wartime attack. Perhaps its most striking feature is the demonstration that the problem most feared—that of death and injuries in such numbers as to swamp burial and hospital services—was in the event much less severe than anticipated. In contrast, provision of temporary shelter, makeshift clothing, and services of a lesser urgency was a tremendous burden upon a civil defense administration whose success or failure along these lines was of overwhelming importance to morale.

Mr. Hammond's second volume of a projected trilogy dealing with food policy and administration is considerably longer and more detailed than any of the other volumes under review. Essentially, it is a series of self-contained monographs concerned with the use of statutory rules and orders to regulate certain home-produced foods, the development of emergency feeding arrangements, and the complexities of consumer rationing. These monographs are not policy studies but step-by-step lessons in the administration of food control. As such, they will be of more interest, perhaps, to members of the food trades and to students of administration than to history students, who will be better served by the material devoted to the growth of policy in the first volume of this food trilogy.

Studies of Overseas Supply displays some of the same inevitable weaknesses that Hammond's melange has. Three authors have contributed a number of chapters dealing with some nine problems: North American munitions, cash procurement in the United States, Lend-Lease procurement, allocations and programs, the Combined Boards, the Combined Raw Materials Board, British war organization in the United States, scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and North America, and the Eastern Hemisphere. This very listing of chapter headings suggests, and correctly, a lack of unity in the volume, in which the

reader is presented a series of case studies to supplement the careful outline of the major problems of overseas supply which appeared in Hall's previous *North American Supply*.

The Administration of War Production, like the *Studies of Overseas Supply*, supplements a broader account already published, in this case Professor Postan's *British War Production*. Messers Scott and Hughes concern themselves with no less than six departments of state: the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Ministry, the Ministries of Supply and Aircraft Production, and the Ministry of Production. From the functional point of view, the topics considered are the administration of naval, military, and aircraft production and the manner in which this was coordinated and directed at the top. The problems of collegiate authorship, about which British scholars sometimes chide their American colleagues, are illustrated by this volume. Hughes has written the chapters on the Admiralty, which follow the same pattern of organization as the others, but the author's intimate personal experience of the issues he discusses, combined with a flair for rendering even technical matters understandable, makes his contributions to the volume by far the liveliest and most interesting.

In my view, the most successful of these volumes are the studies on *Agriculture* and *Financial Policy*. In the former, the prewar history of agriculture, a chronological summary of the wartime struggle to maximize production, and a retrospective analysis of agricultural production policy indicate the bare framework of a most impressive achievement. Certainly one gets the impression from these somewhat underwritten pages that British land utilization during the war was strikingly efficient. Mr. Murray carefully weighs mistakes as well as successes, but his discussion reveals how fully the British agricultural industry rose to the challenge of wartime urgency.

Professor Sayers' account of *Financial Policy* is a delight to read, even for a reviewer who is sometimes unable to keep up with all of the implications of his economic exegesis. Starting with a chapter of straight economic analysis, which is invaluable to the noneconomist as background, he assesses the wartime budgets and then turns to questions of internal capital policy, such as the rate of interest, and of external finance, including the Lend-Lease problem in its financial aspect and the significance of the defense of sterling. There is a particularly penetrating discussion, from a very British point of view, of the issues raised by the approach of the end of Lend-Lease as Britain faced the prospect of a crushing postwar financial situation. Sayers, to the great advantage of his reader, succeeds less than his fellow authors in meeting the somewhat rigid requirement that officials should rarely be mentioned by name. Possibly he could not have prevented J. M. Keynes—whether “official” or not—from appearing alive and vital. In any case, Keynes strides across these pages, writing colorful memoranda, talking with the Americans, often overstating his case, but always throwing light—usually of two varieties—on the problems about which he was advising the Treasury. In sum, this is a distinguished and balanced discussion of financial policy, marred slightly, in my judgment, by the fact that Sayers does rather less than justice to Mr. Henry

Morgenthau, Jr. Altogether, whatever their differences, these six volumes clearly maintain the standards of careful and thoughtful "official" history set by earlier contributions to the series.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS. Tome II, INSTITUTIONS FRANÇAISES, DU MOYEN AGE A 1789; DE 1789 A 1870. By *Jacques Ellul*. ["Thémis" *Manuels Juridiques, Économiques et Politiques*.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. viii, 557; 559-887. 1,300 fr.; 600 fr.)

SOME time ago Professor Frank Manuel of Brandeis University commented that "Frenchmen regularly proliferate syntheses—it is one of their unique capacities." Professor Ellul's synthesis and the series of which it is a part would seem to provide further confirmation of this observation. The "Thémis" series (twelve textbooks and two source books) is intended to provide basic manuals for French students of law under the revised curriculum of 1954. A *History of Institutions* is included in the series, the first volume apparently dealing with non-French institutions, the second (the item here reviewed) with those of France from feudal times to 1870. This second volume is itself bound in two volumes, each divided into reasonably balanced parts, chapters, and sections, which provide a clear pattern of the substance of the work. The only complication arises from the fact that each chapter is set in two sizes of type—the larger for the essential details, the smaller for an *état des questions* for more serious students. In addition to a general bibliography at the beginning, a special bibliography is appended to almost every chapter. These bibliographies are good, though they seem designed rather for the teacher than for the student. And, despite the editor's assurance that many foreign titles will be included, such items are relatively few.

In the preface the author indicates his awareness of the traditional weaknesses of manuals, especially when they must be fitted into a curriculum. He also manifests an appreciation of the dangers of trying to view French institutions in "isolation" and further demonstrates his understanding of historical processes by refusing to limit or exclude discussion of the ideas and doctrines that lend real meaning to institutional history. It is a pity that he did not round out his efforts with a comparable conclusion.

The first part of this two-volume work examines the institutions of medieval France—feudal society, the manor, economic life and the towns, the church, and the development of the feudal monarchy. Part II traces the institutional, economic, and social crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the growth of monarchical ideas and forms and presents a detailed analysis of the institutions of the sixteenth century. Part III deals at length with the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the power of the state, economic, political, and social institutions, political doctrines, public services, and the church. The closing forty pages focus attention upon the "liberal trends" of the twenty years before the Revolution. In the second volume, Part IV covers the years from 1789

to 1815—one chapter each on the constitutional monarchy, the republic, the thermidorian reaction, and the Napoleonic era. Part V, in an even more astonishing exhibition of condensation, treats the “Liberal Era (1815–1870)” in three brief chapters.

The debt of this volume to Jacques Godechot's *Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* is everywhere so apparent (as it should be) that it precludes further comment by the present reviewer on that portion of the book he feels best qualified to judge. Insofar as he is capable, however, of evaluating a work so vast in scope, the reviewer considers this to be a good job well done, a genuine brief history of French institutions in the strict sense of the term, a successful attempt to approximate in two small volumes what Louis Halphen's *Histoire des Institutions* is designed to achieve in six large ones.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

LA GRANDE NATION: L'EXPANSION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA FRANCE DANS LE MONDE 1789–1799. Tomes I and II. By *Jacques Godechot*. [Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier, Éditions Mouton. 1956. Pp. 356; 368–758. 1,980 fr. the set.)

THESE volumes are an invaluable contribution to the history of the French Revolution era, not only for extensive new material but also for new interpretations of the era as an Occidental revolution. Three quarters of the volumes, drawn from foreign archives hitherto little consulted and from recent monographic material in many languages, throw entirely new light on the complex and less-known period of the Directory. A useful chronological table and the texts of a few key documents for the expansionist policy are provided at the end of the second volume. *La Grande Nation*, the name given France during the decade from 1789 to 1799, is neither military nor diplomatic history. It supplements both and goes beyond. The volumes are an admirable synthesis of the ideology of the French Revolution, and of the methods, practices, and results of expansion, from the beginning of the French Revolution to 18 Brumaire, 1799, when Napoleon replaced the *Grande Nation* with the *Grand Empire*.

Godechot develops several important interpretations of the era of revolution. He looks upon the period neither as a revolution in France nor a French revolution spreading beyond France, but as an Occidental (if not Atlantic) revolution. He points to the strong influence of the American Revolution. The American experience, however, was forgotten in Europe when war began in 1792, and it was French Revolutionary principles that spread in Europe thereafter. Godechot concludes that French ideas of liberty, equality, and self-determination exerted little permanent influence on those countries of the West where French armies did not operate or where no social revolution accompanied the political, or on Spain and countries of Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean where illiteracy and ignorance of the French language hindered their spread. The chief countries

affected were those conquered by France before 1799. Important new material is presented for influences on Poland, Egypt, Holland, and especially Italy.

Godechot denies that the Revolution was a bloc for the period 1792-1799, even though its opponents looked upon it as such; five hundred pages of new material on expansion during the Directory demonstrate variations in French principles and policy and diverse reactions to them. The origins of much nineteenth-century nationalism were observable in the adoption and resistance to French Revolutionary ideas. Neither principles, methods, nor results were uniform in the diverse areas from Holland to Egypt.

The French Revolutionary expansionists and the "patriots" cooperating with them, Godechot believes, were sincerely inspired by ideals of liberty, equality, and self-determination. Divergence between principles and practice, accompanied by conscription, requisitions, and pillage, led, it is true, to disillusionment and insurrection. The divergence is explained by the shifts of leaders and policies within France, by self-seeking agents, the exigencies of the war, and the conflicts between diverse social strata in conquered territories. The author argues convincingly that resistance to the French Revolutionaries was resistance not to the principles of the Revolution but to occupational policies; he points out that Italian insurgents used French Revolutionary principles against French rule. Nationalists remembered the ideals and forgot oppressive features of French rule, between 1797 and 1830, when France again emerged as the leader of Revolutionary principles.

Whereas the bourgeoisie gained a dominant role in France during the French Revolution, this was not the case outside France. In areas where French rule liberated the lower classes, they tended to support the French, but in most areas, the "patriots" were drawn from the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. However, the bourgeoisie was alienated by the economic exploitation accompanying French expansion. Valuable new information is presented about the struggles between unitary and federalist republicans and between social groups in each occupied area. Godechot's findings are particularly extensive for Holland and for the influence of Babouvism in Corsica and Italy. Where political revolution was unaccompanied by permanent social changes, French Revolutionary principles failed to take hold, and economic exploitation and the taking of art treasures led to resistance, wars of liberation, and to nineteenth-century nationalism. Only much later did democratic ideals again appear.

Only a few striking citations of the wealth of new material can be suggested here. Godechot maintains that the doctrine of natural frontiers was not a tradition in France but was introduced by Anarchsis Cloots as a refugee in Revolutionary France. He credits the revolt of Poland in 1794 with saving the Revolution in France. He distinguishes clearly between Girondist and Jacobin attitudes on expansionism and analyses the strong influence of Babouvism on Jacobinism outside France. The chapter describing the influence of the French Constitution of 1795 (Year III) on those of sister republics is significant; although these constitutions were temporary, administrative machinery for local rule continued.

Godechot maintains that the spread of French Revolutionary principles contributed to secularism, tolerance, and respect for religion. His material on the press, particularly in Holland and North Italy, is new.

Godechot's indications of where our information is inadequate should stimulate new research. Among the topics needing study are judicial institutions in occupied territories, requisition and conscription in 1798–1799, operations of army contractors, the press in many areas, and especially changes in land ownership. American historians, it is clear, ought to investigate anew the interrelationships of France and the United States from 1792 to 1799.

These two volumes should be translated. They illustrate the finest tradition of French historical scholarship—exhaustive research, comprehensive framework, logical synthesis, and lucid literary style. *La Grande Nation* deserves recognition as a historical classic, along with volumes by Sorel, Aulard, Mathiez, and Lefebvre. It will change the basic conception of the French Revolution; historians will henceforth examine a longer period and a wider area—the era of Revolution in the Occident.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

SOIXANTE JOURS QUI EBRANLÈRENT L'OCCIDENT, 10 MAI–10 JUILLET 1940. Volume I, LA BATAILLE DU NORD (10 MAI–4 JUIN 1940): DE L'INVASION A DUNKERQUE. Volume II, LA BATAILLE DE FRANCE (4 JUIN–25 JUIN 1940): DE LA SOMME A L'ARMISTICE. Volume III, LA FIN DU RÉGIME (26 JUIN–10 JUILLET 1940): DE BORDEAUX A VICHY. By Jacques Benoist-Méchin. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 454; 542; 685. 1,200 fr. each.)

1940: LA GUERRE DES OCCASIONS PERDUES. By A. Goutard. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1956. Pp. 406. 990 fr.)

ON June 6, 1947, Jacques Benoist-Méchin, formerly Secretary of State to Admiral Darlan and to Pierre Laval, was condemned to death for treason by the High Court of Justice. From his prison cell at Fresnes, unrepentant, he wrote his farewells. Then the sentence was commuted to hard labor for life. Eventually, the man was set free. To all this there is no reference by publisher or author. Without any explanation of his own background, Benoist-Méchin presents the longest, and perhaps the best, single account of the fall of France, a day-by-day recital of the summer war and some fascinating chapters on the great principals. The book is a brilliant piecing together of the evidence, compelling, vibrant with life and the sense of urgency. It is, as the French reviews are saying, remarkable. But it is not magistral. No moderately careful reader will fail to see what it is: an elaborate and skillful justification of the armistice and the Vichy state, written by a man who despised the structure, ideology, and personnel of the Third Republic, admired authoritarianism, and was convinced of the virtues of cooperation with Hitler's Reich. (All his life he worshipped Napoleon—would his idol have ap-

proved this new enthusiasm?) No stranger to the European scene of the thirties would have the slightest suspicion, after perusing Benoist-Méchin's 1,600 pages, that the war was provoked by an aggressive state using some of the more degraded methods known to contemporary times. This mighty silence renders the three volumes profoundly unhistorical.

From the outset, Benoist-Méchin abandons his self-assigned role of detached chronicler; his volumes are full of innuendo, sarcasm, and the wildest misjudgments. To credit these pages, one would believe the war to have been provoked by Frenchmen and Englishmen, Paul Reynaud to have sacrificed his country to political ambition, the Quai d'Orsay to have attempted to destroy the criminal record of the Republic in that famous bonfire on May 16, anti-French machinations to have been responsible for the replacement of General Ironside by General Dill, and so forth. Time and again excellent analyses are ruined by untenable conclusions (the Mers el Kébir action is a case in point). Against a sympathetic and illuminating sketch of Leopold III must be set the malignant attacks upon De Gaulle which go beyond all intelligent argument. For someone whose acquaintance with England dates back to earliest schooldays (1911, so it was said during the trial), his misreading of the English situation could not be more flagrant: his account of English control of French public life is a travesty of the first order. Beside these intellectual faults, the merely technical errors (translations, misplaced references) are minor. Benoist-Méchin does not hesitate to manufacture dialogue out of indirect reporting; and this is acceptable only in the case of a historical novel—or if one is Maurice Paléologue.

Is it ignorance, or dishonesty, or the triumph of ideology? In so important and painstaking a work, it is at the very least a great pity. There are such curious things here: why list Churchill's memoirs in the bibliography and then quote from extracts in *Le Figaro*? Why call on Alfred Fabre-Luce to make the analysis one has obviously arrived at by oneself? There are also fine things: the perceptive sketches of some of the great political scenes, the sensitive account of the naval tragedy of July 3-4 under bright Mediterranean skies, the reconstruction of the last maneuvering in Vichy before the curtain fell on July 10. Long—even too long—as it is, this book will be read. One may hope, however, that it will not be too much read in silence.

Colonel Goutard's military study is the best account of the conflicting strategies, insufficient preparations, and faulty conduct of the French war that we now have. Quite openly hostile to the *grands chefs* of 1939-1940, it is sometimes too sarcastic, too wise-after-the-event, too maddeningly full of exclamation marks. It has no heroes, not even De Gaulle (who, contributing a letter, appears to have broken the rule by which all military books since 1945 have a preface by General Weygand), but it can be sympathetic, if not always so balanced as one might wish. The old gentlemen living out their lives on the Avenue Foch will dismiss it as the work of a professor; and it is. Founded on French and German and some, but by no means enough, British sources, its whole thesis is in the celebrated

title which Colonel Goutard now revives. And that is what Benoist-Méchin chooses never to admit, blinded by the awful fatality of events and his admiration for a brilliant army sweeping across Flanders and France amidst the rout of the old order.

Despite the serious reservations one may have, these different works are unquestionably important steps along the road toward some more satisfying and just, perhaps unattainable, account of the fall of the French Republic.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

DER SCHLIEFFEN-PLAN: KRITIK EINES MYTHOS. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1956. Pp. 201. DM 19.80.)

THE Schlieffen Plan, that fatal document so much talked about and never yet seen except by a select few, ought to have been published long before this in its preordained places, the *Dienstschriften* of its author (since 1937) or the volumes of the *Reichsarchiv*'s history of the First World War (since 1925). No such publication was undertaken because of the *Kriegsschuld* complex of the Berlin offices that did not want to incur still more "guilt." Had not Schlieffen proposed something that must not be breathed—a march not only through Belgium but through still more neutral Holland as well? This silencing continued even after it had become known that Schlieffen's successor had disagreed with him on this point and that some other belligerent had not shown too much regard for Dutch neutrality either. With less respect for such *Verboten* or similar tabus than other German historians—such as Paul Herre, who "as a civilian historian would not have presumed to review a *kriegsgeschichtliche Darstellung*" (*Berliner Monatshefte*, XV, 81)—Gerhard Ritter, in the conspectus of his studies on *Statesmanship and Warming* (*AHR*, LXI [October, 1955], 122), went after the secret of the plan even during the Hitler age. It is only now, however, when the repositories of the relevant materials, as far as they survive, are fixed once more, that he can at last publish his findings, which include the plan's texts, variants, addenda, and a choice of maps, to all of which the greatest editorial care is dedicated.

The texts are preceded by a lucid genealogy of German planning for the two-fronts war since 1871, with the varying distribution of forces, changing from one to two, to one to four, and finally to one to eight, as between East and West. Ritter carefully examines the interdependence of strategy and diplomacy. When it proves to have been even less close than one would have expected, that is only in keeping with the "departmentality" of post-Bismarckian governance. Ritter's findings on this point do away with the theory that the final plan of December, 1905, was due to an understanding between the chief of staff and Holstein in the foreign office about precipitating a preventive war at that juncture, seemingly so favorable to Germany. Actually, the plan resulted "from purely military-technical considerations," with no specific regard for the political situation at the time, not to mention its foreseeable political consequences (pp. 44, 82).

Ritter demonstrates that, with all its technicality, the Schlieffen Plan is part and parcel of its author's general world outlook, though this aspect might have been stressed over and above Schlieffen's duly noted *Stockpreussentum*. One might come still closer to the matrix of the plan by viewing its author as a guardsman, falling behind in appreciating to the full the resources and problems of the latest technology of war, notably that of communicating with the far-flung armies, ultraconservative as to the raising of new formations which his plan actually required and which would have been available in the German war potential, conservative also in his belief that the antagonism of Russia was rather in the nature of a passing misunderstanding and in his contempt for the world's public opinion. But this would only strengthen Ritter's own conclusions that the Schlieffen Plan was not an infallible recipe for victory and that, with its rigidity and war-precipitating effects, it "appears directly as the beginning of the misfortune of Germany and Europe" (p. 93).

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

DAS FLORENTINISCHE STAATSBEWUSSTSEIN IM ÜBERGANG VON DER REPUBLIK ZUM PRINZIPAT. By *Rudolf von Albertini*. (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag. 1955. Pp. 461. Cloth 34.50, paper 29.50 S.fr.)

WHILE there have been many monographs on Machiavelli and Guicciardini, this is the first coherent picture of the Florentine political outlook during the first half of the sixteenth century. It is also a systematic attempt to interpret the political ideas of the period, not as abstract doctrines but as responses to the successive phases of the historical tragedy in which Florence's republican liberty was replaced by a Medicean grand-duchy of Tuscany. Such a historical work has had to wait for today's strong interest in the interrelations between political thought and political reality, as well as for the insight, accepted by the author as a fact, that in quattrocento Florence humanistic culture had in many respects strengthened civic thought and that, in the atmosphere of Savonarolian republicanism, Florentine public spirit had experienced a full regeneration.

When Dr. von Albertini, with eyes thus sharpened, reexamined Florentine archives and libraries, he found that after 1500 the discussions among friends and foes of the republic had extended even farther than had been realized; his surprising findings are reproduced in an appendix of 110 closely printed pages. For instance, two discourses of late 1516 by Lodovico Alamanni, a hitherto almost unknown member of the Medicean group in Rome, are perhaps the first political tracts written with a knowledge of Machiavelli's *Principe*. They advise the same Lorenzo de' Medici to whom the *Principe* is dedicated about the means for a "*principe nuovo*" to build a central-Italian state (Machiavelli's problem!), but couple this with the counsel to eradicate the "*asineria*" of civic liberty from the heads of young Florentines, attracting them "*alli costumi cortesani*." Only against this truly "Machiavellian" interpretation can future students measure Machi-

avelli's own position. In regard to the problem of a "mixed constitution" for Florence, balancing aristocratic and popular elements, there is a program of 1527 by Guicciardini's nephew Niccolò, which contains many of the ideas known to us from the *Discorso sopra il fermare il governo di Firenze* by Giannotti, that is, by a representative of the popular party. Since Giannotti's *Discorso* cannot have been written before late in 1528 (see *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VIII [1947], 246-48), the contribution by the Guicciardini group was greater than has hitherto been known—an important fact for future interpretations of Francesco Guicciardini's own stand.

Von Albertini himself does not as yet use his new material for any critical revisions. He calls upon it to present a rounded, masterly analysis of how a two-fold crisis—of city-state liberty and of Italy's independence from foreign domination—was reflected in the action and thought of three major political groups: those members of the aristocracy who had reconciled themselves to the rise of a Medicean principality since the 1510's; the popular party, heroic in its defense of the republic in 1529-1530 but destructive of sound foreign policy, antagonistic to aristocratic privilege but reckless in its own exclusion of the lower class and the country population from citizenship; and, in the middle, menaced by both, the republic-minded part of the aristocracy. This group, the real hero of the drama, heir to the political idealism of fifteenth-century civic humanism but increasingly suspect, opposed, and mistreated by the democratic circles, was eventually forced to submit to absolutism, thereby losing its vitality, but not without making a last, considerable contribution to the thought and scholarship of the period of the Counter-Reformation.

This account is one of the foremost achievements in recent Renaissance research. Its great impressiveness derives mainly from an admirable integration of new findings with the harvest of past scholarship, but partly also from the coherent presentation of the story as an inevitable process of decline and fall. From the first, there is no doubt that reconciliation among the quarreling civic groups and preservation of republican liberty will be impossible because the day of the city-state republic is over. One wonders whether future scholars will not find cause to qualify this impression. If the author's rich biographical information is rearranged according to two successive generations—one born in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the other born in the Savonarolian republic and intellectually formed during the 1510's and 1520's—we find that all the strongly anti-republican writers (except Lodovico Alamanni, who lived and wrote in Rome) belong in the first group, whereas almost every member of the same families whose formative years came after 1510 shows a changed physiognomy. The actual trend in the Florentine aristocracy before 1529-1530 was not, as the author's theory demands, a gradual estrangement from the republic, but exactly the opposite. Are we not giving too little weight to the fact that in consequence of the accession of two members of the Medici family to the papal see, Leo X in 1513-1521 and Clement VII in 1523-1534, the natural balance of forces in the Floren-

tine republic was disturbed? Can we, in view of the exuberance of civic energies before and during the last republic, be sure that the republic might not have survived, as it did in Venice, Siena, and Lucca, if the unparalleled and unforeseeable twenty-year exaltation of the Medici family had not occurred? Perhaps some parts of this story may yet be retold in terms rather different from those of a cause foredoomed.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

ISTORIIA NA B'LGARIIA. Volumes I and II. [B'lgarska Akademiia na Naukite, Institut za B'lgarska Istoriia.] (Sofia: D'rzhavno Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Iskustvo." 1954; 1955. Pp. 560; 1064. 33.60; 41.05 leva.)

THE Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in 1948, commissioned this general history of Bulgaria, which was written by a committee of the Institute of Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. A major achievement of Bulgarian Communist historians, the work serves as a good illustration of both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Soviet method of writing, and rewriting, history. The task of preparing these volumes was facilitated by its official sponsorship. The editorial committee was formed in 1950, and within two years most of the work was completed. In 1953 and 1954 the two volumes were reviewed in draft at meetings of specialists in Sofia and Moscow and were then revised for publication. Lively criticism on the first volume was aroused at the review meeting in Sofia, since non-Communist historians were present at the discussion. As Bulgaria is still in transition to Communism, "bourgeois" and "Marxist" historians are allowed to coexist, although the latter occupy the most important academic positions. While it was not permissible to question the general interpretation, the authors were frequently challenged on accuracy, organization, and personalities (*Izvestiia na Instituta za B'lgarska Istoriia*, V [1954], 415-79; *Istoricheski Pregled*, X [Jan.-Feb., 1954], 108-26). In Moscow the discussion was more circumspect (*Voprosy Istarii*, X [Jan., 1954], 186-88; XI [Dec., 1955], 194-97), its chief interest being that Soviet scholars were themselves preparing a two-volume history of Bulgaria which appeared at about the same time.

The volumes are carefully edited, with bibliographies, indexes, and nineteen specially designed maps in color. They constitute the first general interpretation by Bulgarian historians that covers the entire thirteen centuries of their country's history. The work done by earlier Bulgarian historians, much of which was of high quality, was limited very largely to the medieval and early modern periods. The emphasis in these volumes is primarily on the recent period. Of the sixteen hundred pages, one third are devoted to the twelve centuries up to liberation in 1878, somewhat less than a third to the periods of "capitalism" (1878-1900) and "imperialism" (1900-1917), and well over one third to the "general crisis of capitalism" (1917-1944) and to "Bulgaria on the road to socialism" since 1944.

While this is a comprehensive narrative, useful especially for its detailed treat-

ment of the years since the First World War, its shortcomings are those which its sponsorship would lead one to expect. Only in a few cases are the authors recognized scholars in the periods assigned to them. The Soviet version of Marxist periodization is adapted in an arbitrary fashion to Bulgarian conditions. In international relations, Russia is pictured throughout history as Bulgaria's only benefactor. In the period after 1917, the Bulgarian Communist party emerges as the consistent and recognized leader in the struggle against "monarcho-fascist" tyranny. Popular national heroes, such as Khristo Botev and Vasil Levsky, and literary figures, such as Ivan Vazov and Anton Strashimirov, among others, are posthumously designated as leaders in the struggle against the "bourgeois camp" and by implication as precursors of Communism. Events and influences which contradict this interpretation are distorted or ignored. The bibliography is limited to works by Bulgarian and Russian authors, with the exception of Konstantin Jireček, the Czech scholar.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

DIE KROATEN: DER SCHICKSALSWEG EINES SÜDSLAWENVOLKES.

By Rudolf Kiszling. (Cologne: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1956. Pp. viii, 266. DM 18.60.)

THE history of a people is far more difficult to chronicle than the history of a state. When these people are divided among various political jurisdictions the task becomes formidable indeed. Despite these obstacles, Kiszling has brought unity and direction into his excellent history of the Croats. A short, encyclopedic account covers the period when those Croats not subject to Turkish domination passed under Habsburg control. A hundred pages brings their history to 1918 and a section on "The Croats under Serbian Domination." This is followed by what is no doubt the most original part of the book, a sixty-page history of the Axis-sponsored separate Croatian state, 1941-1945. The study is well documented and there is an excellent bibliography. The author has drawn generously from material in the *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv* and the *Verwaltungsarchiv* in Vienna and, important for the last section, on the manuscript of Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau's *Erinnerungen an die Dienstzeit als Bevollmächtigter Deutscher General in Kroatien* (Vienna, 1941-1944). Kiszling has also consulted various persons who played a leading part in the more recent period.

The author has ingeniously fitted Croatian history into the vaster history of the Habsburg Empire and the history of Southeastern Europe. A few deft sentences or paragraphs give the numerous Turkish wars and constitutional crises their proper settings. Some chapters are devoted to cultural affairs, but political and military events dominate. A good deal of attention is accorded the special Croatian military frontier organization which was established in 1522 and was not finally dissolved until 1868-1881. This peculiar organization not only served as a barrier to the Turks but also, after 1710, undertook sanitation control and

aided in trade regulation. During these four centuries, except for one brief interlude, there was a civil Croatia and the *Militärgrenze* or *Konfin*. The struggle of the Croatians against Hungarian dominance is a recurrent theme; it was Hungarian intransigence which blocked the creation of a united Croatia within the Habsburg state. After 1918 the Croatians continued their struggle for autonomy in the new Serb-Croat-Slovene state, finally achieving their goal to a marked degree in the agreement of August 26, 1939.

The Axis powers had no plans to establish an independent Croatia when Hitler attacked Yugoslavia in 1941. According to Axis agreement on spheres of influence, Yugoslavia was to be under Italian dominance, but the need to recruit new fighting units led Hitler to take an interest in Croatia. By 1944 there were some 258,000 Croatians under arms serving the new Croatia and Germany. Here the account suffers under the burden of many names, and only the military historians will relish the detail concerning the movements of divisions, regiments, and battalions in the struggle with the Partisans, Chetniks, and Italians. Yet this section adds much new material and places the Croatian share in World War II in proper perspective. While the savage nature of the fighting in this area is not glossed over, there is no particular attempt to describe it.

There are several excellent maps. Those showing the religious pattern as of 1931 and the Axis partition of Yugoslavia of July 8, 1941, are particularly noteworthy.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

THE FATE OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: HOPES AND FAILURES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Edited by *Stephen D. Kertesz*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 463. \$6.25.)

THE end of World War II witnessed a curious paradox: at the very time colonialism was being overthrown in Asia a new colonialism was being established in Europe. An area stretching from the Baltic almost to the Aegean and inhabited by nearly a hundred million people fell victim to Soviet imperialism. The nations involved were throughout their history attached to the West; they comprised what Halecki calls the "borderlands of western civilization." Today the yoke of the East European colossus weighs heavily upon them. How did such a tragedy occur? The unsavory story is told in *The Fate of East Central Europe*.

No less than sixteen East European experts collaborated in the writing of this book. They trace American diplomatic relations with the countries of East Central Europe and relate briefly the history of each country since the First World War, emphasizing developments since World War II. Two of the experts carefully analyze the economic problems of the area. Congressman Bentley of Michigan,

in a concluding chapter, speculates about the problems connected with returning to a free society in the postliberation period.

One valuable lesson for Americans permeates the entire volume. It receives special emphasis in the chapter by Philip Mosely, but it is by no means neglected by the other authors. The lesson is a familiar one—that there can be no effective diplomacy without adequate military power. Here lies the explanation of the tragedy of East Central Europe. To save at least part of the area from Soviet domination, Churchill advocated an invasion through the Balkans, but he could not persuade American military authorities of the wisdom of his proposal. The State Department was hampered in its planning for East Central Europe by the Army's refusal to accept responsibilities in this area. Even Austria was regarded by the Army as part of the Balkans and, therefore, outside its sphere of interest. In the immediate postwar period the location of troops was the decisive factor in determining the future of an area. Because of the absence of American troops, East Central Europe was left to the mercy of the Soviet Union.

A change in American policy toward East Central Europe became apparent only at Yalta in February, 1945, when the United States began to express an interest in the area. By that time, of course, it was too late; East Central Europe could not be saved for the West. To prevent any further expansion of the Soviet empire, the United States devised the policy of "containment," which to this day forms the basis of our relations with the Soviet Union. The present administration, as Robert Byrnes points out in his essay, had temporarily substituted the policy of "liberation" for that of "containment." That the new policy was merely political propaganda for use primarily in the presidential campaign became evident with the administration's inaction during the June, 1953, uprising in East Germany. The developments in Poland and Hungary in 1956 furnished even more convincing proof of the hollowness of the policy.

In his penetrating treatment of Czechoslovakia, Ivo Duchacek raises the important question of how long the captive peoples may be expected to keep faith in the prospect of their ultimate liberation. He does not attempt a reply, for indeed the question has no specific answer. One can only hope that the American policies of "containment" and "peaceful competition" on the one hand and internal political changes within the Soviet Union on the other will make possible the emergence of new Titos and Gomulkas among the other captive countries. Such a development might well prove to be the first step on the road to ultimate freedom.

Ohio State University

CHARLES MORLEY

MOSCOW AND THE UKRAINE, 1918-1953: A STUDY OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK NATIONALITY POLICY. By *Basil Dmytryshyn*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 310.)

ORIGINALLY a doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Slavic Studies, this work is a substantially successful effort to survey relations between the Soviet govern-

ment and the Ukrainian people as well as developments in the Communist party of Ukraine under Lenin and Stalin. It is well documented and, while not exhaustive, is quite thorough in treating the principal aspects of the problem. The first of the work's nine chapters is a brief survey of the pre-1917 Communist writings that provided the theoretical basis for subsequent Soviet nationality policies. Chapter ii deals with the revolutionary period from 1918 to 1920, primarily in terms of the anti-Ukrainian bias of many Russian Bolsheviks and the way in which Lenin dealt with the problem. Lenin skillfully succeeded in winning over a number of Ukrainians to the Soviet cause, although naked aggression was the original means by which Soviet rule was established if not consolidated in Ukraine. "Ukrainization" is the topic of the third chapter, which provides a remarkably distinct picture of what this policy entailed, why it had to be adopted, and the dangers which it created for Moscow.

The unwillingness of certain Russian Communists to recognize and respect Ukrainian national rights led to three prominent "national deviations" among the Ukrainian Communists in the fields of literature, politics, and economics in the form of Khvylovism, Shumskyism, and Volobuevism. Communism appears to breed other isms—Bukharinism (still attacked in the Soviet Union), Titoism, "bourgeois nationalism," and "cosmopolitanism"—and consequently these three Ukrainian isms are even today of more than academic or purely historical significance. Dr. Dmytryshyn's treatment of these deviations is concise and balanced; included are representative excerpts from the writings of Khvylovy, Shumsky, and Volobuev—all of whom ultimately paid with their lives for their boldness.

The policies of Stalinism in Ukraine are dealt with in chapters entitled "Integral Standardization," which covers the 1929-1934 period as a turning point in Moscow's policies, and "Total Regimentation," which surveys developments from 1934 to 1953 and documents the forceful introduction of the Russian language into many aspects of Ukrainian life. Three highly detailed, analytical chapters on economic relations, federal ties, and the national composition of the Communist party of Ukraine conclude the volume. The last of these, in particular, demonstrates the extent to which the party has been an alien force rather than a native organization.

The author assumed a task of considerable magnitude in this volume, and it is not surprising that there are certain omissions. For example, no mention is made of the role of Molotov as Secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine in 1920 nor of Liubchenko's suicide in August, 1937. The circumstances surrounding Khrushchev's arrival in Ukraine are not given proper attention. Petrovsky's role as a champion of Ukrainization and titular executive of the Ukrainian S.S.R. as well as his rehabilitation in 1953 are not treated adequately. While these lacunae are unfortunate, it must be said that this is still a volume of great value and merit. The author has made available to English language readers much buried data and a wealth of statistical information regarding cultural policies and the relative eco-

conomic significance of Ukraine to tsarist Russia, to the First Five Year Plan, and to post-World War II Soviet Russia.

Yale University

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

FINLAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *C. Leonard Lundin*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 303. \$5.00.)

THE subject of Finland's part in the last war has recently attracted a number of writers, the latest of whom is Professor Lundin of the University of Indiana. His study is an admirable work that boldly deals with some of the complex diplomatic and military issues of the war period. Its chief merit is that it is based on the latest available Finnish, Swedish, and German sources. The book includes a masterly bibliographical essay on writers who "enlighten and mislead" readers.

How Finland found herself as a comrade in arms of Nazi Germany is ably discussed at great length. Lundin explains how the ill-famed "Transit Agreement" led the country to the brink of national catastrophe; as the author neatly puts it, "Finland's democracy was not functioning on this occasion." This is a most charitable verdict. From Finland's grim experiences, the author believes, much was learned. Under the impact of war misery, the Finnish people rid themselves of the *Suur-Suomi* or "Greater Finland" illusion. He doubts very much whether the country will depart in the foreseeable future from the line chosen by Paasikivi and followed by his successor, President Urho Kekkonen. The disastrous policy of Witting and Svinhufvud has been so discredited that its revival is most unlikely. The only fly in the ointment which the author detects is the "Mannerheim Legend" that the old Marshal perpetuates in his *Memoirs*. Lundin regards these reminiscences of the war years as a disservice to history as well as to the Finnish people, because of what Mannerheim refused to say, rather than what he did say.

Though nothing is more difficult than to predict the line Moscow may follow toward Finland in the future, Lundin ventures to believe that the Kremlin leaders have learned their lesson too; that it is easier for a Big Power to win territory than to win the hearts of a vanquished people. In all likelihood, the writer plausibly assumes, the Soviet government will follow a friendly course. Despite occasional bellicose outbursts in the Soviet press, the frequent visits paid by Soviet high officials and cultural missions to Helsinki indicate a desire for cordial co-existence. The return of the Porkkala base to Finland and the recently concluded mutual agreement pact serve as sufficient proof.

"The one country," states the author, "in which the Finnish wars of 1939 to 1944 seem to have taught some people the wrong lesson is Germany." Judging by such postwar publications as those of General Lothar Rendulic or Hermann Hölder, the Germans, according to Lundin, have "learned nothing and forgotten only what they wish to forget." They still prefer to focus their memory on Frederick the Great and Bismarck rather than on the cultural contributions they had made to Western civilization.

Finland in the Second World War is a work that merits careful reading. Along with the latest work of Dr. Max Jakobson (erroneously cited in the foreword as "Max Jackson"), *Diplomaatien talvisota*, Lundin's study is a valuable contribution to the historical literature on our recent tragic era.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

Near and Far Eastern History

THE IDEAS OF ARAB NATIONALISM. By *Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956. Pp. xiii, 227. \$4.00.)

HAZEM Zaki Nuseibeh, an American-educated official in the service of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, offers this work as "an attempt to explore the genesis, ideas, attitudes, and orientations of Arab nationalism as they are discernible in contemporary thought on the subject." The author does not limit himself to a description of what Arabs have written about their political and social problems. Indeed, the general social and historical contexts of the ideas receive as much discussion as do the ideas themselves.

Nuseibeh surveys the development of the concepts of Arab nationality and nationalism from pre-Islamic times to contemporary discussions of the "constituents and attributes of . . . Arab nationalism" (the first systematic treatment of which was published only in 1938). There follows a parallel treatment of Arab political theory. In addition, since Arab literature on the nature of government is meager, the author attempts to determine, by methods other than the analysis of literature, the dominant political attitudes of the Arabs and comes to the conclusion that the Arabs are thoroughly Westernized. Nuseibeh then discusses the recent antidemocratic trend in Arab political thought and finds that it stems from the weakness of the democratic process as the means of revolutionizing the Arab world and from Arab awareness of the need for social justice. In the final pages, the author briefly surveys opposing Arab philosophies of social change and sets forth at greater length his own views on the "determinants of social change."

The book attempts too much. Although political and social developments within the Arab world since 1800 have not yet been adequately investigated, the author does not hesitate to make confident assertions concerning the social contexts of the various ideas which he treats. For example, he proves his assertion that "Arab society has been literally transformed by Westernization" (p. 102) by asking the reader to compare modern conditions with Islamic society in the eighteenth century as depicted by Gibb and Bowen. Yet there is no study of Arab society since 1800 which is in any way comparable to that of Gibb and Bowen, and this reviewer believes that there are more points of identity than of dissimilarity between twentieth-century Arab society and eighteenth-century Arab society. In short, Nuseibeh's book is a treatment from the viewpoint of a Western-

educated Arab nationalist and a good example of how Arab nationalists view, and use, their history. As historical explanation, it is scarcely better, and certainly no worse, than any number of other publications.

The book, despite its limited value as historical explanation, is a great advance over the existing literature on modern Arab ideologies. Unlike most other writers, Nuseibeh has used the writings of the Arabs, most of which have never been translated. The book is therefore the first soundly based, comprehensive treatment of modern Arab political theory. As such, it deserves to be read by everyone interested in the Arabs.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA. Volume II, HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT. By *Joseph Needham*, with the research assistance of *Wang Ling*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xxii, 696. \$14.50.)

In this volume, Dr. Needham proceeds from the historical and geographic orientations presented in Volume I to an interpretation of the main traditions of Chinese thought within which science and scientific thought evolved. The interpretations in this volume will, we may suppose, closely affect the analyses of various branches of Chinese science which will appear in the five subsequent volumes. The way in which Chinese thought is analyzed in this volume seems to me to bring into doubt the validity and ultimate value of Needham's study as a whole. In this brief notice, therefore, I shall not be concerned with Sinological "mistakes" but with the author's approach, his assumptions, and his methods.

Needham's analysis of Chinese thought appears to be based on two teleological assumptions. The first is a theory of universal progress which holds that all men everywhere have been moving toward "science" in its modern Western sense; this "science" is an ultimate value, the goal toward which all intellectual endeavor should be directed. The other assumption appears to be that men everywhere at all times have, consciously or unconsciously, been struggling toward an ultimate collectivist Utopia; this measures the intellectual and social efforts of men in relation to their awareness of this ultimate goal and their attitude toward society at the particular "stage" of the Marxist continuum of socio-economic progress into which they were born.

I am not persuaded that man's attainment of modern science was in the West or elsewhere a fore-ordained goal in terms of which his other intellectual achievements should be evaluated. I would be inclined to follow Albert Einstein who, in 1953, wrote in a letter to J. S. Switzer:

Development of Western Science is based on two great achievements: the invention of the formal logical system (in euclidian geometry) by the Greek philosophers, and the discovery of the possibility to find out causal relationship by systematic experiment (Renaissance). In my opinion one has not to be astonished

that the Chinese sages have not made these steps. The astonishing thing is that those discoveries were made at all.

This has particular point if we recall that the energies of Chinese thinkers and of men who combined thought and action were preponderantly focused on the goal of an ultimate socio-political harmony, on the good society as they conceived it. To lay the measure of "scientificness" against their ideas and their actions tends to distort and undervalue the total achievements of Chinese civilization. This is what happens in this volume. The struggling "proto-scientists" are always being blocked by "Confucian humanism," "feudal bureaucratism," "the world-denying metaphysics of Buddhist asceticism," and other bogeys. The Taoists are chosen as "fore-runners," as the scientists that might have been, and other traditions of Chinese thinking are dismissed as powerful obscurantist roadblocks in the path of progress. I believe that we must have a balanced understanding of the whole of Chinese thought as it developed through time if we are to analyze soundly Chinese technology, social development, or "science"—however that may be defined. The first of Needham's teleological assumptions has produced a biased and partial account of Chinese thought which cannot safely be accepted as the basis of further studies.

When we turn to the second of Needham's assumptions, we find that the Taoists are again the chosen ones. It is they who preserve in their texts the memories of a primitive collectivism and the ideal of an ultimate collectivist Utopia. They clung to their ideal of "a cooperative collectivist society. Such a society had once existed, in the primitive collectivism of the villages . . . and it was to exist again (though the Taoists could not know that millenia must elapse before humanity would return to their ideals)." The dawn of the new age, the vision of which Needham feels the Taoists share with him, is at hand: ". . . a new universalism, which, if humanity survives the dangers attendant on control by irresponsible men of sources of power hitherto unimaginable, will unite the working peoples of all races in a community both catholic and cooperative" (Vol. I, p. 9). To establish the historical reality of primitive collectivism and the prescient socialism of the Taoists, Needham resorts to many expedients: the insinuation of the Morgan hypothesis which is discredited except in the Communist world, "translations" of Taoist texts which can only be described at travesties, etc.

In order to bludgeon the texts into proving both the proto-scientific and proto-socialist nature of Taoism, Needham must deal with Western Sinologues. He points out how they "failed to see" certain meanings, how they inexplicably "missed the point" of certain passages. Sinologues are human and fallible; their translations have often been pedestrian, sometimes mistaken. But at their best, from Abel Rémusat to Paul Demiéville and Arthur Waley, they have tried to avoid reading into the ancient texts ideas which were not there. They have shown far more respect for Chinese utterances than Needham—the apologist for Chinese culture—does in this volume.

The assumptions which underlie Needham's analysis of Chinese thought and the methods used to support preferred interpretations will be found wanting when they are measured against George Sarton's prescription for the writing of the history of science:

The history of science should not be used as an instrument to defend any kind of social or philosophic theory; it should be used only for its own purpose, to illustrate impartially the working of reason against unreason, the gradual unfolding of truth, in all its forms, whether pleasant or unpleasant, useful or useless, welcome or unwelcome (*A History of Science*, p. xiv).

Despite the charm of this book, its genuine erudition and flashes of insight, the author's enthusiasm for his subject, and his aesthetic feeling for many facets of Chinese culture, the flaws in its edifice of method and interpretation seem to me gravely to impair its value both for the specialist and the general reader.

Stanford University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. CHINA. [Department of State Publication 6353.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. v, 782. \$3.75.)

THIS volume is the first in a special *Foreign Relations* series designed to present the diplomatic story of United States relations with China for the years 1942 to 1949, as part of a larger publication program adopted in response to interest expressed by some Senators and by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in its report for 1954. In form and organization this volume follows the general pattern of previous State Department volumes. A special interest, however, focuses upon its content not only because of the inherent importance of the subject covered but also because this enlarged and accelerated program in the publication of diplomatic documents is apparently not unrelated to domestic political pressures whose first interest has not always been in history and its sources.

At the outset one should note that this volume is not a history but a selected compilation of diplomatic correspondence. Since the preface is unequivocal in stating that the principles applied in compiling and editing this volume are the same as set forth in *Foreign Relations*, 1939, it is fair to assume, until the archives are open to independent historical investigators, that the papers here published give a comprehensive and balanced picture insofar as this can be done in formal diplomatic correspondence and departmental memoranda. The varied aspects of relations with China are presented under eighteen subject matter divisions. Four subjects, covering 565 pages, comprise the greater part of the volume: China's military position, Chinese political conditions, negotiations for relinquishment of extraterritoriality, and financial relations between the United States and China.

The value these documents have for the historian will be determined in time by the insights they provide into the nature of the basic problem of American

policy toward China at this time and into the strategy and tactics which the Department of State used to meet it. The problem itself, stated simply, was how to vitalize in the military, political, and economic sense our wartime alliance with the National Government. The documents here printed, read in the context of those published for the years immediately preceding, support the conclusion that the Department of State was informed both broadly and in detail on the state of affairs in China. The problem lay not in any lack of information but in how to use the information at hand in evolving a wartime set of policies for action.

Current and conflicting interpretations about our China policy in 1942 will find support in these pages. There is some support for the theory that the Department's circumspect approach, its emphasis on traditional aspects of policy, its tendency to regard Chiang as the George Washington of China, its fear of giving offense and thereby destroying what remained of Chinese morale were sound bases for operation. At the same time there is evidence here that the policy of caution was a Sinophile doctrine based on "a myth and a hope about China." The historian, when more evidence is available, will have to judge whether the dead hand of the past—the principle of noninterference in China's internal affairs—had not disarmed us diplomatically in the face of what Ambassador Gauss described as Chungking's attitude of "either or else." In any event, if there was bluff in aspects of China's position toward us in 1942—and Gauss believed there was—it was not called effectively. As the year closed, some of the foundations of the wartime alliance could hardly be described as stable.

Duke University

PAUL H. CLYDE

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL: FROM PLASSEY TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. Volume I. By *Narendra K. Sinha*. (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Agents. 1956. Pp. 260. Rs. 12/8.)

TRADE AND FINANCE IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY, 1793-1833. By *Amales Tripathi*. (Bombay: Orient Longmans. 1956. Pp. xiii, 289. Rs. 20.)

SIGNIFICANT contributions to our knowledge of India's economic history are found in these two works, one by an established authority in the field and the other by a young scholar who has recently received his doctorate at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Both are of primary interest to the specialist, but authors of all subsequent general studies of the first century of British rule in India should take account of them. Professor Sinha's volume is really a series of essays on trade and finance in Bengal from 1757 to 1793; in a second volume on this period, he "intends to describe the land-revenue history of Bengal and the economic conditions of rural Bengal." The most valuable essays are those which deal with economic activity among Indians and the interrelationship of Indian business enterprise with European. With his unrivaled familiarity with the Bengal records, especially the hitherto insufficiently used Mayor's Court papers, Sinha takes us behind the scenes as no European investigator could possibly do.

His readers will all gain a vivid impression of the Indian market, of how currency operations and indigenous banking were actually carried on. They will acquire some insight into the activities of lesser folk—weavers, cocoon growers, poppy and indigo growers, saltpetre collectors, and salt workers—whose lives were to be so drastically altered by the increasing European activity and the subsequent impact of the Industrial Revolution. Even so, the modern investigator seems barred from exact knowledge of the lowliest of these; one can learn much of those who managed weavers but little of the weavers themselves. Concerning the question whether the East India Company's "investment" of goods for export to London was ever purchased with a true surplus of revenue over administrative and military expenditure, this reviewer still feels that it must be considered in terms of India as a whole and not of Bengal alone. Although Sinha's nonchronological and functional approach is valuable, his work has lost something by it. The uninitiated reader will often feel confused by the repetitions and the sudden changes of time and scene that his method entails.

Both these works suggest the question: "How was it that Bengal withstood the strains which the process of European conquest and empire building imposed upon her?" We cannot have a full answer until comparable studies of the other two presidencies form with these a basis for the economic history of India in this period. In concluding his *John Company at Work*, this reviewer noted evidence of certain aspects of free trade and laissez faire long before their time in British transactions with foreign East India companies and illicit traders in the 1780's. Dr. Tripathi has taken up the story where the reviewer left it and gives a thorough account of the way in which the intertwining of the public finance of the East India Company's governments and the private finance of agency houses and private country traders brought an end to the mercantilistic era and the Company's monopoly. Most valuable is the discussion of the transition from the "agency house" system with its dependence on the fortune-seeking Company servant to the "managing agency" system which became such a unique feature of Indian economic life in the nineteenth century. Tripathi's conclusions are based upon an immense amount of statistical labor. Like many doctoral dissertations, this study marshals too much evidence in the text, yet it must be said that the author has presented his voluminous economic data with unusual clarity. There are some especially pertinent observations on the connection of Indian merchants and bankers with the financing of the Company's debt in India and with European private traders. Nevertheless, Tripathi attaches much significance to the fact that the Bengali Westernized "middle class" of the future was not primarily recruited from these business families. "It had," he says, "no roots in indigenous commerce and industry which made the middle class in the West so powerful and progressive" (p. 223). His work shows how the development of Indo-British commercial and financial relations in this period created a Bengali middle class dependent on the holding of land, public securities, and inferior public office. It should be

followed up by further studies in the social history of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

INDONESIAN SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE. By *W. F. Wertheim*. (The Hague: W. van Hoeve; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. xiv, 360. \$5.00.)

A sociologist who has drawn his material partly from the writings of authorities on Indonesia and partly from his own research in Amsterdam, the author proposes "to deflect the attention of those interested in the Indonesian scene from externals to essentials. There is far too much concern about such things as the parliamentary system, political parties, leading personalities, elections, as if these were the motive forces of society. This book attempts to pay due attention to basic processes and facts such as competition between social strata, rural discontent, hunger, human bondage, class strife, which are decisive for future developments." In pursuing this purpose, Professor Wertheim sets forth the facts with great detail and thoroughness and supports them with a massive array of source references. He tries to be impartial, but running throughout his work is a bias against Dutch colonial rule and capitalism in general which occasionally colors his judgment. He is on firm ground, for example, when he says that the very substantial social services introduced during the twentieth century failed to raise the standard of living in Java. It is questionable, however, whether he is justified in ascribing the lack of success to the failure of foreign capital to promote industrialization. The blame seems rather to lie with the medical and health services, which by lowering the death rate so increased the population that eventually several Javanese had to exist at the same low standard of living at which one had lived before. The author does not suggest how the Dutch government, which supported private enterprise except in the tin mines and a few other enterprises, could have established factories when outside capital as a rule was unwilling to do so.

Four introductory chapters, embracing both ancient and modern Indonesia, cover political and social history and geography. In the following seven chapters the author attempts to describe the social background of Indonesian nationalism, including discussions of the economic system, social status, urban development, religion, labor, culture, and nationalism itself. Each chapter is divided into four sections: the first describes the situation in Indonesian society before the arrival of the European conquerors, the second deals with the effects of Western rule emphasizing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the third describes the Japanese occupation, and the fourth traces developments to the end of 1955. These later chapters provide a wealth of material on the changes of the last four and a half centuries and, allowing for the author's bias, are a valuable addition to knowledge of Indonesia.

University of Minnesota

LENNOX A. MILLS

American History

FREEDOM IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*.

(Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. viii, 156. \$3.50.)

At the invitation of Queens University, Professor Morison gave the three lectures—on political freedom, economic freedom, and academic freedom—published in this volume. In effect, he limited the term “contemporary society” to the United States and Canada. Americans, too often ignorant of the political and social realities in the life of their important northern neighbor, may find enlightenment in the paragraphs that the author devotes to the three freedoms in Canada. With equal objectivity, he describes some Canadian practices that might well be emulated and others that must be avoided at all costs.

In his first chapter, Morison uses an impressive summary of the history of theory concerning political freedom as a prelude for a discussion of the situation in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. He describes to his Canadian audience “administrative autocracy,” the Attorney General’s list, the new discovery (for Americans) of guilt by association, the implications of security risks, and McCarthyism. In each case, he points out the threat to ancient freedoms posed by the officials and the activities of government. His indictment, available in the present book, is neither new nor, from lack of space, complete, but it is forcefully reasoned, pungently stated, and effective. Looking toward the future, Morison proposes that “local communist parties . . . now outlawed as conspiracies,” be given legal recognition if and when they demonstrate that they do not follow the Cominform line. Let them argue the cause of Communism so long as they seek it by constitutional means; the principle of freedom of speech requires as much. The author opposes the employment of Communists in the federal government, in defense plants, and, in his concluding chapter, on university faculties but insists that no employee in any category be deprived of his job on mere suspicion or the denunciation of “faceless accusers.”

In the chapter on economic freedom, Morison outlines briefly the developments that have produced in the twentieth century the brand of mixed capitalism peculiar to the United States. He dismisses the gloomy prophesies of “the three weird sisters,” Hayeck, Jewkes, and Schumpeter. He accepts the appraisal of American free enterprise together with the cautious optimism of Sumner Slichter. “Our mixed system of semi-controlled free enterprise,” Morison concludes, “squeezed between the upper millstone of the state and the nether millstone of the labor union, is still grinding out far greater benefits in terms of the good life than any other system known to us in the present or the past.” It provides a setting favorable to democracy. But the author adds the caution that no economic system offers in itself a guarantee of freedom. Free enterprise “can only function in a society that believes in God and in the Hebraic-Hellenic ethics upon which Christianity built, a society where the great majority of people respect integrity

and justice, practice honesty and fair dealing, and have higher values than mere wealth and comfort."

As Morison points out, the concept of academic freedom came late. It received no recognition in the ancient world, in the Middle Ages, or even in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. He traces the development of the idea in the United States through a series of issues that had its beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century. Coming to the contemporary scene, he expresses the opinion that "the greatest enemies to academic freedom in the United States today are neither the reds nor the red-baiters; but (1) abuses of university government; (2) the attempts of professional 'educators' to control higher education; and (3) the general mediocrity of the teaching profession." Morison asks the question: "Do we deserve academic freedom?" When he surveys the kinds of courses that too often pass for higher education and the quality of many of the men and women who teach them, he is not sure that the answer should be in the affirmative. He concludes: "Education in the United States is due for an overhaul from the top to the bottom; and it had best begin at the top." Repeating the sentiment expressed in his second lecture, he ends the book: "We cannot improve the quality of higher education without a deeper sense of religion than at present pervades American universities."

Morison has written an informative and provocative essay. Its significance lies in its forthright expression of the opinions of a man distinguished for teaching, scholarship, and public service.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

ARMS AND MEN: A STUDY IN AMERICAN MILITARY HISTORY. By

Walter Millis. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1956. Pp. 382. \$5.75.)

THE military experience of the United States, according to Mr. Millis, has coincided with a series of revolutions that have profoundly affected the ways and means of waging war. The first, the democratic revolution, began with the War of Independence. With it war became the instrument of peoples rather than of rulers and the business of the masses rather than of small professional forces. As war became democratized it brought an obligation of universal military service. In the nineteenth century the industrial revolution made it possible to equip and transport the huge forces that universal obligation could yield. By the twentieth century the managerial revolution in government and industry enabled nations to mobilize and use these forces with dispatch. World War II showed that the centralized modern state had developed into an incomparable instrument for waging war, without serious risk to the social and economic fabric of the victor. But by then the scientific revolution was responsible for producing new arms too terrible to use. Today the great nations have a hair-trigger mechanism set for universal catastrophe if used for total war, and anything less will not serve the purpose that war has served in the past. In effect, war is no longer "available" as

an instrument of national policy, and peoples and nations must resolve their differences by other means if they wish to survive.

Within the framework of these larger themes, the author weaves a good and generally well-balanced history of American military policy and practice. He bases it on a judicious combing of secondary works to fortify knowledge and understanding gained over the years as a military historian and journalist. After the first page, on which the "embattled farmers" of Lexington and Concord emerge as "peasantry" and "yokels," journalistic touches are gratifyingly rare. The narrative is at its best when describing the nineteenth-century impact of the industrial revolution on war; it includes a brief but excellent reconsideration of the Civil War in that light and a fair appreciation of coastal defenses, so often ignored. Through most of the book, the author maintains a nice balance in treating the Army and the Navy, though generally he goes back and forth between the two instead of interrelating their development. His attention to foreign relations is comparatively scant, and works on diplomacy are noticeably absent from footnotes and bibliography. The author also fails to give much weight to the defense of "national honor" as an impetus to war, and this factor (however questionable) has certainly had great weight in the United States as in other nations. In accordance with the title, the development and application of new and improved weapons receive special attention throughout, although the coverage of developments during and after World War II is much more condensed than for earlier periods, and some items—guided missiles and the new apparatus of continental defense—are all but ignored. Yet on the whole this is a good book, readable and admirable for its factual accuracy and general thoughtfulness.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

RACE AND NATIONALITY IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 300. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Handlin's latest book is a collection of thirteen historical essays unified by connecting passages and a common theme. Except that the thesis is repetitive of his *The Uprooted* and *The American People in the Twentieth Century*, the essays do not lend themselves easily to summary or collective analysis. One, a charming first-hand study of American immigrants who returned to their Greek homeland, appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*. "The Origins of Negro Slavery" is scholarly and was published with footnotes in *The William and Mary Quarterly*. "Israel and the Mission of America," from the pages of *Commentary*, needs only a clip-out coupon to be printed as one of those full-page paid political advertisements in the *New York Times*. Chapter vi, appropriately entitled "The Horror," is a historiographical curiosity which argues, apparently on the evidence of some phrenology books, that the absence of effective birth control techniques in the nineteenth century produced a set of family psychic tensions conducive to racial discrimination in the twentieth century. Chapters iv, v, and viii, on the other hand,

are illuminating analyses of nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories of race and genetics, set in a social and political context.

The specialized audience of this *Review* will read Handlin's volume on three levels: it expresses an admirable (to me) political point of view shared by all good "liberals," sternly antidiscrimination and antisegregation; the essays—learned, argumentative, well-written—will "teach" well and will make stimulating "outside reading" in a survey course or for the immigration chapter in, say, Morison and Commager. However, we are fundamentally neither liberals nor teachers, but historians, and on this level, in my judgment, the book gives a specious or distorted view of the American past. To preserve the symmetry of his liberal conclusions, the author is driven to a dubious connection between the nineteenth-century questions of slavery and immigration, as if Negro slaves were simply contract labor of a darker hue and real-estate restrictions a lesser form of lynching. By trying to universalize the experience of Eastern European peasants in American cities, he tends to ignore the centripetal effect of the Americanization process. The focus is on "rootlessness," "alienation," and the divisive aspects of American society; his solution is cultural pluralism, with ringing overtones of the "folk-dancing and spaghetti school" of sociology.

Handlin should ponder, and so should we all, these words by Chancellor Kimpton of the University of Chicago:

It is too easy today in the social sciences, in my judgment, to confuse theory and thesis. There are too many people who enter the field with a ready-made conclusion, obtained from their local household gods rather than their laboratories, and proceed to gather facts and footnotes to substantiate it. They want to get something done, and I admire their motives but not their science. . . . It is from this background that we so often find a social scientist of a minority group who gathers data about the difficulties of other minority groups, the young liberal who chooses to make a study of a communist group in Canada, the second-generation immigrant historian who writes of the woes of the immigrant in America. . . . Now the problems that underlie these concerns are important; but I suggest that too often a valued thesis becomes confused with sound theory and there is a resulting selection and emphasis.

Princeton, New Jersey

JOHN D. DAVIES

GERMAN CULTURE IN AMERICA: PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCES, 1600–1900. By *Henry A. Pochmann*, with the assistance of *Arthur R. Schultz* and others. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 865. \$7.50.)

In nearly five hundred big, closely-printed pages of narrative, over three hundred pages of notes which often are as important as the text, and sixty-three pages of index, Professor Pochmann has given us a remarkable survey and evaluation of the impact of German philosophy, education, religion, and literature upon American culture from colonial days to 1900. Because the New World has reshaped

every cultural contribution from abroad and even the British could not reduce the United States to a cultural province, Pochmann makes no extravagant claims for his subject. Yet the fact remains that Germanic influences, especially upon American intellectuals, were both great and significant. This magnum opus by a distinguished scholar who has devoted a lifetime to his researches in this field has something significant to contribute to historians and philosophers, as well as to students of American literature, drama, and education. "Labour both of attention and severe thinking" is required to work one's way through this thick and learned volume, but the scholar will be amply rewarded for his efforts.

Book I is concerned with German thought in America and reveals that there was a lively interest in things German long before Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* started the "German craze" which sent so many of Harvard's bright young men to Göttingen in the early nineteenth century. The libraries of the Winthrops and Mathers contained many German books, and a number of colonial intellectuals had a lively correspondence with German scholars. John Quincy Adams translated Wieland's *Oberon*, and Harvard acquired a German geographer's library of 35,000 volumes in 1818. Unitarian theologians were greatly influenced by German Biblical criticism, and German philosophy played a leading role in the development of New England Transcendentalism. The author's analysis of the evolution of Emerson's thought is especially good. Kant, Schelling, and Schleiermacher were well known to American scholars, educators, and theologians. In St. Louis, "a little German world" created largely by German Forty-eighters, Brokmeyer, Harris, and Snider introduced Hegel to the Middle West and found in him the philosopher of progress and free thought who could check the materialism and agnosticism of the times. In American colleges, German philosophers figured prominently in college courses and college textbooks on philosophy.

Book II is devoted to German literary influences upon America, from Kotzebue, Schiller, and Goethe to the German poetry and fiction which nearly all American periodicals carried in translation. A section treats the adaptation of German plays for the American stage and the role of the German-speaking theater in the history of American drama. In the final sections, the author analyzes Germanic materials and motifs in the American short story, in the work of Irving, Hawthorne, Poe, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Margaret Fuller, Mark Twain, Whitman, and many others of lesser stature. Irving was a notorious borrower from German legends; Whitman found justification for New World democracy "in the formulas of Hegel"; Whittier had a deep interest in German mystics; and, of course, Bayard Taylor's whole career illustrates the close interchange between German and American culture.

There is much more in this learned tome than can be suggested in so short a review. This is a scholar's book, which covers an amazing range of interests. The author's conclusions are objective, convincing, and amply supported by an impressive bibliography; the book will be useful to scholars in several fields. Finally, in

these days of rising costs, the press of the University of Wisconsin is to be commended for performing the major function of a university press, namely, to make a scholar's book available to scholars at a reasonable price.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITTKÉ

THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN AMERICA. By *Carl Wittké*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 311. \$6.50.)

THE details of the founding, flourishing, and death of dozens of German-language newspapers, and the listing of innumerable others, are an integral part of this book, but the details are soon forgotten and a clear, sad, predetermined picture emerges. It is apparent that most of the foreign-language press in the United States, including the German press, was bound to be transient in nature, and it is clearer still that an inevitable ambivalence restricted this press from the beginning.

The German-language press was first designed to ease the transition of immigrants to life in their new country, by printing local and national news in their native language and by encouraging them to understand and appreciate their new home. At the same time, this press aimed to perpetuate German-American organizations of all sorts, German culture in general, and ties to the old country and to specific provinces and cities; above all, it attempted to perpetuate the use of the native tongue by the immigrants and their children. These two goals were in obvious conflict. The first led many of the German papers simply to become American newspapers written in the German language, subject to the same forces and pressures of consolidation, rising costs, and advertising as the English-language press; the papers then were no longer really unique except in language, and as proportionately fewer people of German descent used that language these papers were doomed. As long as the second goal was followed, the process of Americanization pointed to in the first was restricted in its possibilities.

Dean Wittké dramatically shows how this ambivalence came to a head in World War I, with tragic consequences for the German-language press and for the German-American people. The two chapters on World War I are the best of the fourteen in the book; there is a real attempt at analysis here, combined with sympathy and understanding. Some readers will doubtless disagree with the way in which the details of Wilson's neutrality policy are handled, but given the broad aims of the book, this is not serious.

Wittké emphasizes "the role which the German press and its readers played in American social, political, and economic history," beginning with the colonial period and ending with a brief chapter on the period since World War I. He covers not only the conventional daily and weekly newspapers, but all manner of religious, fraternal, labor, literary, and other journals which are peculiarly combined under the heading "Official Organs." A good deal of the material for this

work was accumulated over the years as Wittke prepared five earlier volumes in the field of German immigration.

During the peak period, in 1893-1894, there was a total of about eight hundred German-language publications in the United States; this total had dropped to sixty in 1950. Before World War I, there were five German dailies published in New York City, and for a time the circulation of Milwaukee's three German dailies was about 92,000, double that of its English-language competitors. By 1956 there were only four German dailies left in the entire country; the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold* was the strongest, with a circulation of 22,014. Milwaukee had only the semiweekly *Herold* with a circulation of 1,757. The demise was bound to occur; the fundamental aim of Americanization of a large immigrant group had been accomplished, greatly aided by these papers, and their second aim of preserving the German culture and language ultimately had to fail. Although the American people may believe in cultural diversity, the mass media certainly are not conducive to its existence, and the possibility of any dual national allegiance has been clearly out of the question since World War I.

Colgate University

MARVIN WACHMAN

MIRROR FOR GOTHAM: NEW YORK AS SEEN BY CONTEMPORARIES FROM DUTCH DAYS TO THE PRESENT. By Bayrd Still. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 417. \$7.50.)

THE United States has been fortunate in its commentators from foreign shores. In the long line from Tocqueville, through Matthew Arnold and James Bryce, to André Siegfried and Dennis Brogan, they have seen in American society more than the remembrance of things past, more than the images that lay behind their own eyes. Their commentaries, however critical or caustic, have been the meditations of enlightened travelers seeking insights into a strange environment by living in it sympathetically and trying to absorb something of its spiritual qualities.

It would be pleasant to believe that most of New York's visitors, drawn to the nation's metropolis from other parts of the country or from foreign lands, likewise have been intelligent observers and thoughtful reporters; but Bayrd Still's *Mirror for Gotham* seems to prove that the truth is otherwise. A majority have brought with them little more than a photographic eye. They have recorded the superficial scene, colorful and endlessly in motion; they have seen the city's ugliness and beauty, its garishness and its serenity, its noisy streets and its noble buildings. Most of them have revealed in their printed words that they could escape neither the inconveniences nor the delights of the city; but the city somehow escaped them.

Indeed, this *Mirror for Gotham* would be a highly distracting and disjointed series of stereopticon slides, if Professor Still were not operating the pictorial machine with discriminating skill. As he has shaped "this historical portrait of

New York City," he has drawn upon more than six hundred contemporary comments, ranging in time from the description of the site of the future city, supposedly prepared by a member of Henry Hudson's crew, to the poetic prose of Beverly Nichols in 1950. It is clear that whatever unity the portrait possesses is Still's contribution. He must have had a great deal of fun in making this book. His readers will find that he has been able to transmit a sense of delight through the pages that he has written, as well as through the descriptions from other pens that he has edited with a historic sense the original narrators often lacked.

Here is the developing urban scene in all its sordidness and magnificence. The constant factor is perennial growth, horizontally and vertically. As the provincial port developed into a world capital, horizons were truly widened, physically and intellectually. The contemporary commentators tell the story of how the ever expanding activities quickened men's pulses and lightened their purses. Not all who ventured boldly profited proportionately. But this book only records the adventures; it is no balance sheet of loss and gain.

For many a reader the illustrations (more than seventy of them) will provide the greatest thrill. Even to one who has lived long on Manhattan's rocky isle they speak more powerfully than words. They confirm what is implicit in the stories told by Gotham's visitors, that the city is ever changing and yet in some essentials changeless. Today, as in the days when Wouter Van Twiller's pipe kept the Dutch burghers in a fog of smoke, New York is cosmopolitan, commercial, and convivial. Whether it has made any important contribution to the culture of the Western world is a question that *Mirror for Gotham* does not try to answer.

Columbia University

JOHN A. KROUT

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. xiv, 292. \$5.00.)

To compress into 250 pages of text the varied aspects of cultural life in the American colonies over this long period, without producing a narrative wholly desiccated, is no mean achievement. But it is a feat which the author of this most recent volume in the New American Nation Series has accomplished with rare skill. This reviewer knows of no other single volume presenting a view of the cultural life of the American colonies so authoritative, so comprehensive, and so readable as this one from the pen of Louis B. Wright.

One who would essay this difficult task is confronted at the outset by the problem of organization. Wisely, the author has chosen the strictly topical arrangement with no great attention to the time sequence. Indubitably this makes for clarity and for ease of comprehension. Dr. Wright projects his analysis of colonial culture against the background of agrarian society in the South and of urban life in the commercial towns north of Chesapeake Bay. With an impartial hand he describes the virtues and foibles of the great planters in the one area and of the

mercantile aristocrats in the other. The setting is rounded out by excellent discussions of the diversity of religions and of the varied national origins of the colonial population.

The cultural life which developed in these surroundings the author discusses in seven separate essays, under the rubrics of education, books and libraries, literature, drama and music, architecture, scientific interests, and the press. Amid these disparate manifestations of a developing American civilization he moves with ease and assurance, aided, of course, by his own first-hand investigations over the years into various facets of his general theme. By a nice economy of words and a judicious arrangement of his materials, he is able to achieve in brief compass a surprising depth as well as breadth of treatment. Making no exaggerated claims for the civilization he is describing, he none the less leaves the reader with the feeling that he has participated in a cultural achievement that, considering all the obstacles encountered, was notable in the extreme.

Many of the author's pages are crowded with the names of persons and places, titles of books, and other impedimenta. This results in part from the necessity of compressing into brief space a large mass of data, some of it discrete and refractory in character; but to a greater degree it is occasioned by the very kind of history he is writing. The materials of social and cultural history appear to be of such a nature as to require the practitioner of the art to indulge in the frequent enumeration of data of this sort. With a writer less skillful than the author of the present work this could lead to some dull and dreary chapters. But Wright surmounts this difficulty with ease, thanks to his perceptiveness, his sense of humor, and his ability to turn a nice phrase.

It is a bit unfortunate that the author has seen fit to bring his narrative to a close on something less than its strongest note. His last chapter—on "The Press and Communications"—is the only fragmentary one in the volume and produces an anticlimactic effect. But, more regrettable, it results in failure to do justice to that rare group of men, the colonial printers.

Some readers will note the absence of a general summing up at the conclusion of the volume. Such a recapitulation, written from the fullness of the author's knowledge, would have been welcome. But minor faults and omissions cannot detract greatly from a significant contribution to early American history that will be appreciated alike by the amateur and the professional.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

REVOLUTION IN AMERICA: CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS AND JOURNALS, 1776-1784, OF ADJUTANT GENERAL MAJOR BAURMEISTER OF THE HESSIAN FORCES. Translated and annotated by *Bernhard A. Uhlenhof*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 640. \$9.00.)

MAJOR Baurmeister was a German officer who sat out the war in New York. He served with the Hessians from their arrival until their return to Europe and,

except for accompanying Howe to Pennsylvania in 1777-1778, scarcely stirred from Manhattan during those eight years. His letters and journals, now translated from his manuscripts in the Clements Library, are reports to his superior in Hesse-Cassel, Baron von Jungkenn. They are not, as advertised on the jacket, "one of the most unbiased, comprehensive, and informed of the contemporary accounts of the Revolution," but are primarily an account of events on Manhattan, similar to that in Stokes's *Iconography*, interlarded with a running narrative of whatever outside news was going the rounds of the garrison. Baurmeister was an assiduous rather than an astute reporter. He seems to have had little curiosity about social conditions, politics, or personalities; even his statements of fact are, as Sir Henry Clinton would have put it, *sujets à caution*.

Such source material lays a complex burden on the editor—to supply background where the text is obscure without it, to note where the author differs from generally accepted opinion, and above all to point out his errors of fact. Mr. Uhlendorf does not attempt to be an editor in this sense. He identifies, with great success, the swarm of minor characters who move through the pages, but rarely does more; the reader is left to grope for himself through a murk of detail. For example, Baurmeister describes the Battle of Long Island in a way that completely conceals the crucial flank march; he makes mistakes, such as saying that Clinton commanded the British left and Cornwallis the right; he asserts that the American lines at Brooklyn were strong enough to hold off 50,000 attackers. These sins of omission and commission the editor ignores. He also makes occasional errors of his own. Roche de Fermoy is said to have faded from sight at just the moment when he was conspicuous in the Trenton campaign; the editor is as confused as the author about the Battle of King's Mountain; when Baurmeister sends Admiral Arbuthnot to the West Indies in 1780, Uhlendorf finds a mythical reason for the mythical voyage. Such slips could have been avoided by consulting any one of a number of modern authorities, but the footnotes cite virtually nothing that has been published on the Revolution in the past thirty years.

The grave shortcomings of this volume do not mean that it is worthless. Baurmeister deserves a hearing, at least from specialists. He makes some interesting general comments; a few of his experiences light up his surroundings. He describes the day-to-day activities of the Manhattan garrison with a thoroughness that transmutes the pedestrian into the monumental, and the editor adds his own wealth of biographical information. There is, in short, gold in these hills—not much, but some—for the reader who has the skill and patience to find it.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THREE HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1787. By *Zechariah Chafee, Jr.* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956. Pp. 245. \$4.00.)

As its title implies, this book is concerned only with certain liberties embodied in the Constitution as originally framed. Chafee deals principally with freedom

of debate in Congress, with bills of attainder, and with freedom of movement. This last, he admits, is not expressly protected in the Constitution, though it is undoubtedly there through judicial construction. Chafee sees several threats to this freedom in the current scene, among them, the refusal of visas to sundry foreigners and denial of passports to divers Americans.

With some scholarly hesitation, he discerns a threat to the guaranty against bills of attainder in the sort of rider attached to an appropriation measure in 1943. This rider deprived three federal officeholders of all right to compensation for their services after a certain date. In *United States v. Lovett*, the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional on the ground that it was a bill of attainder. Though unconvinced that it technically was, at least in the historic sense of the bills of attainder against Laud and Wentworth, Chafee on the whole approves the decision as a safeguard against those legislative determinations of guilt and punishment that he thinks the Congress may be most tempted to enact in the present day. The temptation will arise from the same source as that which has prompted the executive branch to restrict freedom of movement, namely, a fear of subversive notions and activities. Chafee regards this fear as exaggerated and, in some instances, quite without rational foundation.

The greatest danger to freedom of debate in Congress is the abuse of that freedom by some of its own members, but the freedom has been won after so long a struggle and is so indispensable to parliamentary effectiveness that it ought, even though abused, to be preserved intact. The author sharply reminds the Congress that the remedy for the abuse is in its own hands. "The remedy," he says, "has been right there since 1787. A Senator or Representative can be punished or expelled by his own House."

This work is not so much an account of the abuse and breach of constitutional liberty in the present as it is a narrative of the efforts by which that liberty came to be established in the past. The story is concerned more with England than America, since the framers of the Constitution of 1787 simply appropriated, so far as the liberties here discussed are concerned, the products of English historical experience as they understood it. Chafee describes this experience anew and aims thereby to rekindle the reader's devotion to the principles of freedom. There can be no doubt that what he has aimed to do he has done and done well. His narrative is persuasive, and at once learned and lively. Learning is often the foe of liveliness, but here it is one of the sources of that very quality. The excerpts from old English proceedings have been chosen not only to instruct but also to amuse. Where would one find a more pungent speech than that reported from the earl who, silent in the House for years, suddenly stood up and opposed the trial of the impeachment of Danby, the Lord High Treasurer? Where would one find a pithier comment than that quoted from the duke who had plied the earl with wine to induce him to take the other side of the question? "The man is inspired! and claret has done the business."

University of Buffalo

JOHN T. HORTON

ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By *Louis M. Hacker*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 273. \$4.75.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Hacker gives a general review of the main incidents in the life of Alexander Hamilton, this work is not primarily a biography but an attempt to show that Hamilton was the personification of the conservative tradition. Undoubtedly depending upon Columbia University's recently acquired Hamilton Papers as his main source, the author devotes the major portion of his book to the career of Hamilton from the period of the Articles of Confederation until his death. He uses a considerable number of quotations from Hamilton's writings to prove his thesis.

Hacker rejects the thesis that there was no "critical period" by insisting "that not only was the Confederation inadequate but that the Revolution was being perverted." Moreover, the adoption of the Constitution "saved both the American nation and the Revolution." The young United States needed the support of prominent men of affairs to attain stability and promote progress. Sound credit and national honor were essential to create confidence both at home and abroad. It was at this time that Hamilton began to show his true ability, and Hacker credits him with understanding the need for uniting private interest with public policy. Yet the truly conservative Hamilton does not emerge until he submits his "Report on Manufactures." Then he comes to the conclusion that "private striving must remain unhampered if material progress is to be the lot of the entire nation."

The author takes issue with modern-day liberals and conservatives who assert that Hamilton did not fit into either tradition. He believes that Hamilton was a real conservative because: he was devoted to his country, which must endure; as Secretary of the Treasury, he accepted the responsibilities of office, meeting its problems "by honorable means and not through short-lived accommodation"; and he realized the importance of maintaining stability, best attained through economic opportunity for all.

To support his contention that Hamilton helped to start the nation on the right track, Hacker points out that the United States is now great and strong and has made full use of its resources to broaden education, welfare, and social betterment. Despite its "bigness," it has developed the essential qualities that the conservative Constitution makers sought: integrity in government; safeguards for individual conscience; and private enterprise, which has "produced both that wealth and income so necessary to assure the well-being and maintain the confidence of the growing American population." While many liberals may question Hacker's thesis, he buttresses his position in sound and convincing fashion.

Syracuse University

O. T. BARCK, JR.

JAMES MADISON: THE PRESIDENT, 1809-1812. By *Irving Brant*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. 540. \$6.50.)

THIS volume, the fifth of Irving Brant's life of James Madison, is undoubtedly the most important volume to date in Brant's revisionist account of Madison. The author's thesis is that historians have misinterpreted Madison and his place in American history, in part because they have accepted Federalist propaganda as fact and in part because they have misused evidence. Instead of being a weak President dominated by the great Thomas Jefferson and swayed by a Warhawk Congress or the desire for reelection, Madison, according to Brant, was a strong President who played a large role in shaping American policy during the controversies with France and Great Britain from 1809 until the declaration of war against Britain in 1812.

In laying the groundwork for his revision, Brant cites many instances of historians' acceptance of Federalist propaganda and uncritical use or misuse of evidence. For political reasons, the Federalists created the myth of Madison as a weakling, a myth which was accepted by British agents at face value. It not only caused the British government to underestimate the gravity of the conflict with the United States but also misled later historians. Brant blames Henry Adams in particular for the misconception of Madison. The first historian to have access to the records, Adams omitted part of a sentence in one document in order to depict Madison as a weak President who was following Jefferson's policies rather than his own. Brant also accuses Adams of presenting an incorrect sequence of events, making a cause into an effect and creating the impression that Madison feared the French minister Turreau. In fact, however, Madison had forcefully rejected a strong Turreau letter, giving the minister the choice of withdrawing the letter or returning to France.

Brant substantiates his thesis by showing that Madison was the dominant figure in American diplomatic relations with France and Britain. The President wrote most of the notes sent by his Secretary of State, Robert Smith; maneuvered Smith out of office without political damage to himself, despite Smith's powerful political connections; and then brought in James Monroe as Secretary of State, on his own rather than on Monroe's terms. Madison sent such a strong message to Congress that it was toned down at the insistence of Albert Gallatin and then supervised the writing of the House report on the message, a report that was a long step toward war. The President was in full agreement with leaders of the House, according to Brant, and defended in advance the highly provocative recommendation for arming merchant ships. A warlike newspaper article, erroneously attributed by historians to Henry Clay, which made it appear that Clay opposed Madison, was actually written by Secretary of State Monroe, who did such writing by direction of the President.

In his interpretation of the War of 1812, Brant places much greater emphasis on commercial rights, impressment, and national honor than on American desire

for expansion. Madison consistently insisted that American rights must be respected, and he agreed secretly with both France and Britain that the United States would make war on the country that refused to recognize these rights. Both countries violated American neutrality, but Madison considered British violation the more serious. French actions were dictated by military objectives and Napoleon's personal shortcomings, while British policies were designed to deny American independence and to restrict the commercial growth of this country. The issues with Madison were principles, not merely interests.

This reviewer's criticisms, which may be merely personal preference, are concerned mainly with the way the book is put together rather than with its contribution. For the volume as a whole, or for chapters, there are neither introductions nor summaries to guide the reader through the mass of detail. Chapters and paragraphs lack unity, making it difficult to follow the main thread of thought. "Backnotes" are in the back, where all "backnotes" presumably should be, but where they are virtually useless to the reader who considers footnotes of value. Despite these criticisms, the book is valuable, both for the material it presents and for its provocative interpretation, and will not soon be displaced as the definitive work on Madison for the years that it covers.

Michigan State University

ROBERT E. BROWN

GOVERNMENT UNDER LAW: A CONFERENCE HELD AT HARVARD LAW SCHOOL ON THE OCCASION OF THE BICENTENNIAL OF JOHN MARSHALL, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1801-1835. Edited by *Arthur E. Sutherland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 587. \$7.50.)

PRESENTED in this volume (with rather more typographical errors than one would expect) is the record of one of the most ambitious of the projects devoted to commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Marshall. A galaxy of eminent jurists, including the chief justices of the United States, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, gathered at Harvard for a three-day discussion of papers on the theme of government under law. The theme was not treated in a parochial manner. Besides the contributions of the distinguished foreign judges from common law countries who discussed constitutionalism as embodied in the law of their respective nations, Professor André Tunc discussed French law, past and present, and Father Joseph M. Snee expounded the natural law doctrines of the Church of Rome. John Lord O'Brian likewise made a profound impression on the conference by his emphasis upon the element of moral conviction as an indispensable feature of government under law. In cold print his address seems to offer a strange mixture of conservative and liberal outlook. He described himself as "one of the last of the Victorians" and declared that "constitutionalism and desire for stability are synonymous" (pp. 534, 524); but he likewise expressed concern over the "grave danger presented by . . . the so-called programs to ensure

loyalty and security" (p. 518) which he had previously developed more fully in his 1955 Godkin lectures, *National Security and Individual Freedom*.

A profound consideration of constitutionalism by Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., was supplemented by penetrating comment on the judicial function by Justice Felix Frankfurter and Judge William H. Hastie. The pointed remarks of McGeorge Bundy, a nonlawyer, added zest to the discussion. One of the most significant observations was Judge Hastie's extempore comparison of the respective virtues of courts and legislators in making the difficult value-judgments involved in "substantive due process" decisions (p. 360).

Government under law in time of crisis was treated by Francis Shackelford and Charles Fairman. The former emphasized the importance of intradepartmental procedure in view of the tendency of Congress to appropriate whatever amount of money the armed services ask for during times of danger. The latter urged the importance of civilian control of the relief measures that would be needed after an atomic disaster and showed the inadequacy of the common supposition that martial law would do the job, or that state and local agencies could be relied upon.

Many other valuable contributions to the discussion are contained in the volume. It is a worthy fruit of the bicentennial occasion which evoked it.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

PROFESSORS AND PUBLIC ETHICS: STUDIES OF NORTHERN MORAL PHILOSOPHERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. By *Wilson Smith*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. vii, 244. \$4.00.)

FOUR of the nine essays in this collection have appeared in scholarly journals in different form. Originally, they constituted the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia University; they are now published under the auspices of the Beveridge Fund of the American Historical Association. In the first section, Smith establishes who the major moral philosophers were during the first half of the nineteenth century (he includes forty-eight in a useful statistical appendix), locates them in terms of their religious and academic orientation, and describes and analyzes their early indebtedness to the theological utilitarianism of William Paley, the English moral philosopher. The second section is made up of essays on the relationship between thought and action in the public careers of four moral philosophers: John Daniel Gros, Francis Lieber, Charles B. Haddock, and Francis Wayland. The author takes a look at James Walker, Unitarian moral philosopher at Harvard, in the third section and concludes with some suggestive comments on the decline of moral philosophy in the American college.

The essays do not hang together as well as their appearance between two covers might suggest, but the author is rightfully excited by the possibilities of his subject. After all, in the moral philosophers were embodied the official pur-

poses of the American college of their day—the evangelical Protestantism and the intellectual pretensions which defined the higher learning. Smith proves that the professors were active in politics even though they insisted that they were merely being moral, but it is questionable whether he has proven his contention that the philosophers were overwhelmingly committed to a well-defined moral order and only incidentally to the prevailing conservative economic and political order.

In an acknowledgments section at the end of this book, Smith remarks: "I have left undone in this work many things which I ought to have done. . . . I have introduced some themes broadly, with only a few biographical essays to sustain my generalizations. In this way possibly I have missed the kind of historical precision, though I hope not the insight, that gives some monographs their value." Readers will want to make up their own minds about the author's judgment. My own sympathies are on the side of precision, in part because insights of this sort are not very useful until someone gets around to the precision and to the study in depth. The sympathetic and understanding approach to the moral philosophers displayed in this book, the attempt to grapple with some tough problems of intellectual history, the knowledgeable use of other work in the field, and the author's respect for his subject suggest that Smith is capable of just such a study.

Williams College

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

THE COKERS OF CAROLINA: A SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY OF A FAMILY.

By *George Lee Simpson, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute for Research in Social Science. 1956. Pp. xvi, 327. \$5.00.)

THE Rockefeller Foundation originated and subsidized this study of the contributions of the Coker family of South Carolina to the economic and cultural life of the South. The object was not to memorialize a distinguished family but to improve the welfare of the region by holding up for imitation a notable record of achievement. The author, an associate professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, begins his account with the marriage of Caleb and Hanna Coker in 1830 and carries it to the present. Reviewing individual achievements in a family context, he pays considerable attention to the family as a social institution, and quite properly, for the Coker family supplied each of its members with a sense of identity and purpose, with security and opportunity, and with those qualities of character most essential to success. Generation after generation, the Cokers have been ambitious, disciplined, industrious, and remarkably adaptable. Except for the scholarly members of the family they have, like the heroes of Russell Conwell's *Acres of Diamonds*, found their opportunities in their own back yard in Darlington County, South Carolina.

The author's main concern is not personality development but the changing Southern economy. Caleb Coker, who started as a storekeeper and cotton planter, lived to see his sons and grandsons prosper in the cotton manufacturing, railroad-

ing, banking, paper manufacturing, and pedigreed seed businesses. Cokers pioneered in the manufacture of paper from Southern pine, the production of textile cones, and the development of improved strains of cotton, tobacco, and oats. The study thus definitely adds to our knowledge of Southern agriculture and business enterprise. It also improves our understanding of Southern intellectual life, not only by reviewing the careers of the many scholars that issued from the family but also by indicating the ways in which the Cokers applied new research knowledge in the industrial and agricultural spheres.

The author has made good use of letters, business papers, store books, farm journals, diaries, wills, speeches, and other fresh source material. He has confined himself too closely to family sources, however, so that the reader never knows how the Cokers looked to outsiders. Who were their friends and enemies? How were they regarded by the Negroes, farmers, and laborers of Darlington County? The neglect of newspaper sources accounts in part for the absence of answers to these questions.

The social ideas and political affiliations of the Cokers, though not completely overlooked, are not fully or candidly developed. Apparently they were Redeemers in the postwar South, but the author sees little social significance in this. C. Vann Woodward will be surprised to learn that the Redeemers acquired political power "without any particular design," that they were "merely themselves," seeking public office not because it was profitable but because it was "co-equal with duty." In our day, the Coker industries are not unionized because the Cokers pay good wages, and besides, "All things being equal, they prefer not to have a union." Coker ideas on race are passed over lightly, except for the assurance that while the Cokers occupy a middle ground, they are unlikely "to forsake their southern heritage suddenly."

This is a solid book, despite deficiencies of style and historical orientation. It documents, if it does not fully explain, the contributions of a remarkable family to the intellectual and economic development of the South.

University of Missouri

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

REBEL BRASS: THE CONFEDERATE COMMAND SYSTEM. By *Frank E. Vandiver*. Introduction by *T. Harry Williams*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 142. \$3.00.)

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS. By *John G. Barrett*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 325. \$6.00.)

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE. By *Stanley F. Horn*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 181. \$3.00.)

THEY MET AT GETTYSBURG. By *Edward J. Stackpole*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 342. \$4.95.)

In his introduction to *Rebel Brass*, by way of agreeing with David Donald's advice that in writing Civil War history "we must turn to fresh problems, and

to fresh solutions of old problems," T. Harry Williams reminds us to ask of these four additions to the growing fifty-foot shelf of books on the Civil War, whether or not they are "fresh." It seems to me that only John G. Barrett's *Sherman's March through the Carolinas* offers any degree of freshness. While each of the other three books can be considered a labor of love, none of them adds anything substantial to the literature of the Civil War except further testimony of the abundant love people have for it.

Mr. Vandiver's *Rebel Brass* strives toward freshness; because of his attempt, Williams has commented that the author did "a job of thinking." Certainly he has brought up an interesting subject, the Confederate command system, but, unfortunately, he has given it no dimensions. Instead, he restricts himself to writing a personal (and sometimes petty) evaluation of some of the Confederate "brass," men whom one would expect to be part of the "command system," without showing what the "system" was or how it worked. In *The Decisive Battle of Nashville*, Mr. Horn claims that "it is impossible to question that Nashville was a decisive battle" and also that it was "the decisive battle of the war." He proceeds, however, only to give a straightforward rehash of that two-day battle, compares it with no other engagement in the Civil War, and offers no proof of his contention except that William Swinton, General John Watts duPuyster, and J. F. C. Fuller all saw, in varying degrees, the importance of the battle. *They Met at Gettysburg*, by Edward J. Stackpole, is another account of that crucial battle which the author lovingly and enthusiastically refights with, it seems to me, much less success than does another contender, Douglas Southall Freeman.

While footnotes and a full bibliography do not necessarily indicate freshness of either research or interpretation (nor are they always needed), they do help to show the reader something of the author's path among the materials he has consulted. On this basis alone, and there are others, Barrett's book must be classified differently from the other three reviewed here since they, for the most part, eschew such scholarly trappings. Indeed, Horn has replaced the section usually reserved for a bibliography with nothing more than an organizational list of the armies at Nashville; furthermore, he has incorrectly attributed Hallam's famous definition of a decisive battle to Sir Edward Creasy.

Sherman's March through the Carolinas, while it does not throw great new light on that campaign, serves to unify and distinguish it from Sherman's other, and often better known, campaigns. The book, which deals in detail with the general's march from Savannah to Raleigh, begins somewhat unnecessarily with his birth in Lancaster, Ohio, forty-five years before. Barrett very properly emphasizes the burning of Columbia, the battle of Bentonville, and the controversy over the terms of surrender which Sherman originally offered Johnston. Outstanding, but not emphasized sufficiently, is the description of the terrible and treacherous trip through the swamps of South Carolina which Sherman thought was "one of the most horrible things in the history of the world." The army moved, seemingly, more by water than by land. The few pages devoted to this part of the

march do not do justice to the military coup which Sherman's sixty thousand men pulled off when they built the corduroy roads and bridges, by which means they traveled over an area always wet and sandy and then awash by heavy rainfall. By every standard the march was heroic and wondrous, impressing even Sherman's capable opponent: "I made up my mind," General Joseph E. Johnston said, "that there had been no such army in existence since the days of Julius Caesar." Sherman did not exaggerate when he wrote in his *Memoirs*: "Were I to express my measure of the relative importance of the march to the sea [from Atlanta to Savannah], and of that from Savannah northward, I would place the former at one, and the latter at ten, or the maximum." Mr. Barrett has General Sherman on dry land far too quickly.

The author's success with his narrative is achieved partly because he has carefully made what might be called a social study of the march through the Carolinas. He places heavy reliance upon a variety of eye-witness accounts of Sherman's army as it went northward and often draws upon contemporary reminiscences not previously exploited. The problem of the "bummers" who foraged freely and often disgracefully, as the Northern Army marched through the "hell-hole of secession," was but one of the many sore spots between South Carolina and Sherman's army, and Barrett's story helps to reveal the natural bias and bitterness that existed between victor and vanquished. It clarifies the difficulty in judging responsibility for the devastation brought to the Carolinas, especially to Columbia.

In dealing with the peace terms which Sherman gave to Johnston, Barrett disagrees with Lloyd Lewis and others who hold that Sherman was only following Lincoln's program. Instead, he maintains that the general "acted foremost in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience." While this reviewer remains convinced that Sherman *was* primarily following Lincoln's policy, Barrett's fresh reminder that he would act as he saw fit, is salutary.

As these four books testify, the last word has not yet been written on most aspects of the Civil War, David Donald's advice notwithstanding. One is reminded of Alice when the King cries out: "How are they getting on with the fight?" Whereupon Hatta replies: "They're getting on very well. Each of them has been down about eighty-seven times."

Brandeis University

DONALD N. BIGELOW

A DIFFERENT VALOR: THE STORY OF GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, C.S.A. By *Gilbert E. Govan* and *James W. Livingood*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. 470. \$6.00.)

THIS biography of Joseph E. Johnston, the first to appear since 1893, when the Confederate commander's great-nephew, Robert M. Hughes, published his *General Johnston*, leaves unaltered the main outlines of the famous soldier's Civil War career but offers some new interpretations and fills in much interesting detail

from manuscripts, journals, memoirs, and the *Official Records*. The authors suggest that the animosity between Johnston and Jefferson Davis, which proved so disruptive to Confederate unity, may have begun while both men were still in Washington, Davis as Senator and Johnston as Quartermaster General in the United States Army. The evidence cited in support of this theory includes a letter written by Mrs. Johnston in 1863 in which she discloses to a friend that when Johnston was planning in 1861 to leave Washington she reminded him that he would have to work with Davis, adding, ". . . he hates you, he has power & will ruin you. . . ."

Like Mrs. Johnston, the authors see little good in Davis or his friends. They regard Davis' removal of Johnston from command of the Army of Tennessee, at the crucial moment in the defense of Atlanta against Sherman, as an arbitrary act, resulting from hatred of Johnston, an unrealistic appraisal of the military situation, the sycophantic advice of Braxton Bragg, and false reports from John B. Hood, who schemed after Johnston's command. In the light of the evidence, this interpretation, however harsh, is not to be lightly dismissed. Yet it does seem that the authors' sympathy for Johnston leads them to minimize his irritability, evasive secretiveness, and lack of daring, qualities which both angered Davis and gave him plausible grounds for the removal. Moreover, the authors tend to minimize Johnston's military errors. For example, they quote Sherman more than once in praise of Johnston but say nothing of Sherman's censure of the Confederate commander for allowing Federal troops to cross the Chattahoochee, the river barrier before Atlanta, unopposed.

The biography suffers from too much emphasis on Johnston's Civil War career and too little on the rest of his life. The fifty-four eventful years that preceded his resignation from the United States Army in 1861 receive sixteen hasty pages. Similarly sketchy is the twenty-one-page summary of his business and political career, 1865-1891. This treatment makes the book not so much a rounded study of Johnston's life as a detailed examination of his Civil War campaigns, written essentially from Johnston's point of view.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

THE PAPERS OF WILLIE PERSON MANGUM. Volume II, 1833-1838; Volume III, 1839-1843; Volume IV, 1844-1846; Volume V, 1847-1894. Edited by *Henry Thomas Shanks*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1952; 1953; 1955; 1956. Pp. xxi, 573; xxi, 521; xxvii, 579; xxxiv, 812. \$3.00 per volume, \$15.00 the set of five.)

STUDENTS of American history have reason to be grateful to Professor Shanks for completion of his work, begun several years ago, of compiling and editing the papers of Willie P. Mangum. Mangum's importance in national political life can at last be evaluated and appreciated. The series is valuable also for the large number of public figures who appear in the pages by letter or by reference. These

include almost all of the major Whigs and many others—Webster, Clay, Harrison, Taylor, Fillmore, Scott, Clayton, Bell, Duncan Cameron, Weed, Graham, Calhoun, Jackson, Tyler, Lincoln, Benton, J. J. Crittenden, Letcher, Branch, Memucan Hunt, and J. Watson Webb—to name a few. The material relates mostly to national and North Carolina politics, but considerable data or sentiment may be found on other aspects of American life. This is a work that will have to be consulted hereafter by earnest students of the period covered.

Volume II covers the years during which Mangum shifted from a Jacksonian to a Whig, opposed removal of the Bank deposits, resigned from the Senate, and helped organize the Whig party in North Carolina. Volume III (1839–1843) is one of the more important of the set. After serving as a presidential elector for Harrison and Tyler, Mangum returned in 1840 to the Senate, where he supported Clay's program, and, after Tyler's accession to the presidency, was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, by which he was put in line for the presidency of the United States. The letters covering this period are especially revealing. Volume IV, by its short coverage (1844–1846), suggests the concentration of Whig efforts on the election of 1844, as well as the interest in the controversial questions of those years. Mangum had an important part in directing the campaign for Clay and was himself offered, but declined, the vice-presidential nomination. Most of the material in Volume V (1847–1894) deals with Mangum's last term in the Senate (1847–1853) and his declining years in private life till his death in 1861. Mangum is revealed as a key man in Whig politics during his last term. He played an important role in the Compromise of 1850. His opposition to a military hero for President, his nationalism balanced by his abhorrence of the extremists and ending with his support of rebellion, and the sacrifice of his only son to the "Lost Cause" are all well brought out. There are more letters from Mangum in this volume than in any of the others, and in some respects this is the most useful in the series. The user of the Mangum Papers will share the editor's regrets about the small proportion of letters from Mangum; the total is 267, or about 13 per cent of the whole number. But this is a familiar situation.

The five volumes are uniform in the following respects: location of each manuscript; a chronological list of papers in the volume; a calendar of Mangum papers for the period of the volume that are omitted (a total of 362); footnote annotations; illustrations, including portraits of many of Mangum's contemporaries; index; format. The differences are in Volumes I and V. The first volume (see rev. in *AHR*, LVII [October, 1951], 258) includes a biographical sketch of Mangum, a chronology of his life, and three maps. The last volume adds the following features: errata found in the previous volumes; twenty undated manuscripts identified with the years 1819 to 1850; about a score of items discovered after publication of the volumes to which they logically belonged; several items with post mortem dates, including reminiscences; and a dozen of the major speeches of Mangum, mostly in the Senate, covering the years 1825 to 1852.

The editorial work of Professor Shanks is superb, evidencing the utmost care and respect for the critical demands of scholarship. In his helpful footnote annotations he has done more in providing identifications than could reasonably be expected. The index in each volume is a model for detail and usability. With the other features to guide one, these make the volumes as easy a reference as a dictionary, and, for those who work in the period covered, just as indispensable. Remarkably free from typographical errors, this handsome set of volumes, comprising over 3,200 pages, also reflects credit upon the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST. By *Robert G. Athearn*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 371. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Athearn's scholarly treatment of a difficult subject in a crucial era of the expansion of the Union should merit the close attention of students of American history. The work is predicated on a wide variety of primary sources—manuscript, archival, and published—which are widely dispersed and for the most part rarely utilized by scholars. The materials most frequently cited in this book are the Sherman Papers in the Library of Congress and the official records in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the War Records Division of the National Archives.

At the close of the Civil War, General Sherman was designated as Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which covered the entire area from the Mississippi River to the Pacific. During the two decades of 1865–1885 the rush of settlers into the western plains and to the mountain areas was in full tide. Sherman's duty was to ensure peace in the whole district, which he assumed meant the infliction of punishment on both Indian and white disturbers, wherever they might be found. The central theme of the book is therefore the evolution of the general's policy within this milieu of conflict, with a discussion of the several concomitant issues which modified or transformed his policy, all brought into sharp focus by the author.

Sherman's primary objective was to fend off Indian forays on white settlements, but he soon discovered that his hands were effectively tied by several unanticipated circumstances. Congress made decreasing annual appropriations for the Army, which rapidly depleted his forces; effective military action against hostile Indian tribes was thus virtually impossible. But even if an adequate force had been made available, its use would have been negated by the growth of a pacifist element in Washington and in the East generally, which emphasized a policy of treaty conferences, Christianization, and education of the savages rather than forceful retaliation. This pacifist group brought such pressure upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior that Sherman's voice in Washington was unheard. The War Department did not assert itself,

and President Grant did nothing to uphold Sherman. The general found a way, however, to do indirectly what he could not do directly to lessen the frequency of Indian attacks by lending military protection to railroad builders. His forces were sufficient for that purpose. This was the great era of the construction of the Pacific railroads—Northern, Union, Central, and Southern. Sherman rightly believed that with the projection of every mile of a railroad the settlements in its vicinity would be comparatively safe. In the end, when the rail lines reached the mountains and the Pacific, the Indians found themselves caught in the jaws of a giant pincers; their settlement in reservations was then made easy.

The work is well written. Although it is a microscopic study, I am impressed with the feeling that an over-all picture of the area and time has been presented. That is the art of the thing.

The National Archives

CLARENCE E. CARTER

THE LEGACY OF HOLMES AND BRANDEIS: A STUDY IN THE INFLUENCE OF IDEAS. By *Samuel J. Konefsky*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 316. \$6.00.)

THE use future generations make of the ideas of former ones serves always to throw new light on the sources and original meaning of such ideas. Professor Konefsky in his study of the influence of two of our most notable judicial minds seeks to show the way in which their concepts developed and the way in which those concepts have been utilized. Placing more emphasis upon the former, the author clearly shows that the Holmesian gospel of judicial self-restraint has played a major role in the modern court's approach to economic and civil liberties questions. Brandeis' broad contributions, Konefsky contends, lie more in his "adapting law and its techniques to the stark realities of life in the twentieth century."

On the other hand, the influence of the two men's specific ideas is more nebulous. Holmes, only semi-literate economically and lacking any pronounced social consciousness, did manage, in his passive, skeptical acceptance of combinations, both business and labor, and the right of legislatures to experiment with economic regulation, to set forth numerous prescient rules for a later day. Brandeis, however, in his better informed crusade for social justice, was frequently apt to be present-minded, concentrating the weight of his legal erudition upon immediate problems and their immediate solutions, to the point that many of his economic decisions have little pertinence in a changing industrial society. Ironically, it was Brandeis who was constantly looking to the future to vindicate his positions whereas Konefsky sees no such sense of mission in Holmes's opinions. Such a conclusion strongly suggests that the more specific ideas of the men have prevailed neither in the form nor the spirit in which they were set down but that later generations, seeking useful rationalizations, have utilized them as prestigious arguments to bolster particular points of view.

In the area of freedom of expression, Konefsky is forced to a similar conclu-

sion. Raising serious doubts as to the validity of Holmes's reputation as a great champion of free speech, he argues that the famous "clear and present danger" rule was an inadvertent and unnecessary qualification on the first amendment, opening the way to serious limitations upon what had previously been assumed to be an unassailable guarantee. Later dubious use made of the tool indicates further the manner in which casual dicta may come to be raised to the level of purposeful legal doctrine.

The study, based upon an exhaustive use of the available writings on the two men, is useful and important. The fact that it is itself present-minded only shows that the ideas of Holmes and Brandeis, whether correctly adapted or not, currently influence not only judges but scholars.

Ohio State University

PAUL L. MURPHY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE RISE OF AMERICA TO WORLD POWER. By *Howard K. Beale*. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1953.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1956. Pp. xxi, 600. \$6.00.)

FEW Presidents have shown a greater flair for diplomacy than Theodore Roosevelt. His aristocratic temperament, strong sense of mission, ebullient personality, and decided views on all matters impelled him to assume a leading role in the shaping of world affairs, although he was often handicapped by the discouraging attitude of the American public toward its international responsibilities. His comprehension of world problems was unusual, as a negotiator he had few peers among the professionals in that field, and his impact on the statesmen of his day was tremendous. Yet despite this great personal prestige and extraordinary display of diplomatic skill, Roosevelt, in Professor Beale's estimation, failed in all his important objectives, not from any lack of ability but from the distorted values he acquired as a disciple of Kipling and Mahan in the expansionist agitation at the turn of the century.

Nevertheless, it was a spectacular failure, and the story has never been told so well or in such abundant detail as here. Based on an exhaustive examination of the papers of Roosevelt and his principal associates and supplemented by the printed foreign office correspondence now available, the book is a genuine contribution both to the diplomatic history of the era and to an understanding of Roosevelt's personality.

Roosevelt's major diplomatic efforts were directed toward building up a close entente with England, curbing the aspirations of Germany, trying to improve the competitive position of the United States in the Far East, and maintaining an uneasy equilibrium among rival world power combinations. Little is said of his Caribbean policy apart from a spirited defense of his veracity in reporting the Venezuelan episode of 1902-1903. His handling of some of these complex matters was masterly; where Roosevelt erred was in miscalculating the power poten-

tial of certain nations and the forces of nationalism undermining the world order he strove to preserve.

Much new light is thrown on Roosevelt's ambivalent attitude toward the Kaiser, whose glittering military facade both impressed and disturbed him. The resemblance between them was striking, but in diplomacy Wilhelm was no match for the wily Theodore, who used him about as he wished. Although he made efforts, mainly through private channels, to mitigate the dangerous Anglo-German rivalry, Roosevelt's strong support of England on most international issues precluded his having much of a modifying influence on German opinion generally. His ability to flatter the Kaiser into supporting American policy when it was not always in Germany's interest to do so was also counter productive, as at the Algeciras Conference, the outcome of which did not redound to Wilhelm's credit at home however much it enhanced Roosevelt's reputation elsewhere as a peace-maker.

Beale finds little to commend in Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy except his efforts to end the Russo-Japanese War. His fatuous admiration for the Japanese militarists, his callous sacrifice of Korean independence, and his senseless bullying of the feeble Manchu regime are severely censured. It is doubtful, however, that he inaugurated a Chinese policy basically different from the gunboat diplomacy of his predecessors or that, in view of the times, a more enlightened policy would have averted the present calamitous situation. In discussing his bellicose handling of the Chinese boycott, no evidence is presented, beyond what is cited in the press, for the statement that troop shipments to China were founded in fact. The White House merely promoted a war scare by allowing the press to play up normal troop rotation to the Philippines in this light. Not even Roosevelt could have seriously contemplated the risk and expense of such an expedition.

The lecture method, on which this volume is based, may account for some unnecessary repetition. For example, the impact of Brooks Adams and Admiral Mahan on Roosevelt's thinking, while important, is hardly worth repeating in three different chapters. The index is adequate and the footnotes awe inspiring, although awkwardly placed at the end. W. W. Rockhill is mentioned (p. 200) as running the State Department between Hay's death in July, 1905, and Root's assumption of office in August, but Rockhill had gone to China as American minister in April, 1905, and F. B. Loomis was Secretary of State ad interim.

Washington, D. C.

SEWARD W. LIVERMORE

WOODROW WILSON AND COLONEL HOUSE: A PERSONALITY STUDY. By *Alexander L.* and *Juliette L. George.* (New York: John Day Company. 1956. Pp. xvii, 362. \$6.00.)

To the recent avalanche of Wilsonia, occasioned in part by last year's centennial celebration of President Wilson's birth, Alexander and Juliette George have added a commendable little book which should take high place among the one-volume

biographies of Woodrow Wilson. It is a well-balanced, smartly-paced work, maturely organized and presented in an engaging, albeit somewhat repetitious, manner. For the general reader interested in good biography well told, the book should have a special and richly deserved appeal.

What the authors have attempted to do here is to stretch Woodrow Wilson out full length on the psychiatrist's couch and probe into the mechanism and motives which propelled him. Beside Wilson, on a much smaller couch, lies Colonel Edward M. House—also probed somewhat but given on the whole only minor attention, despite his heavy billing in the book's title. The findings of the examiners are inclined to be generally unfavorable (at times devastatingly so) to both House and Wilson, with the latter receiving by far the harsher handling. It is the core of the authors' psychological conclusions that Wilson, the man and his actions, can be understood only in reference to the unhealthy relationship that existed between Wilson as a youth and his exacting minister father. According to the authors, young Wilson was pushed too hard and too brusquely by his stern and tactless, albeit well-meaning, parent who, in his intellectual domination of the boy, succeeded in planting in young Wilson's mind a sense of basic inadequacy and insecurity, which in time blossomed forth into a feeling of colossal resentment. As a dutiful son, Wilson not only refused to rebel openly against his father but even succeeded in pushing all feeling of resentment into the recesses of his subconscious mind. It was this repressed resentment, claim the authors, which shaped Wilson's later attitudes and behavior. As a boy he had been made to feel inadequate and unimportant, and consequently, the business of compensating himself for these early deficiencies became for the adult Wilson the overriding purpose of his life. "His interest in power, in political leadership," state the Georges, "was based on the need to compensate for damaged self-esteem. . . . Had he, as a child, been overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness in relationship to the masterful adults about him? Then, as a man, he must impose his will on others and never permit himself to be subjugated."

Although provocative and generally appealing, from the standpoint of pioneering scholarship the Georges' book will fail to cause much of a stir. The frontiers of historical knowledge are not noticeably pushed forward because of it. It offers to an already supersaturated area of study very little, if anything, resembling an original contribution of significant proportions—either information-wise or in the realm of interpretation. Relying heavily upon published sources, especially those of Baker, Seymour, and Link, the authors have served up an old, old dish (replete with time-honored quotations and oft-repeated "colorful incidents") to which they have given an only slightly different flavor by sprinkling on a moderately heavy garnishing of psychological conjecture. For the historian with even a fair-to-middling familiarity with the period and personalities dealt with, this book, while undeniably a first-rate piece of craftsmanship, falls perilously close to the outer rim of "ho-humism."

University of New Hampshire

CHARLES JELLISON

WILSON: THE NEW FREEDOM. By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 504. \$7.50.)

IN this, the second volume of a singularly important biography, Arthur S. Link displays the thoroughness of research, lucidity of prose, and care in analysis that have so consistently distinguished his scholarship. His preface defines the scope of his book, deliberately broad, deliberately also manageable. It deals with "the major stages in Wilson's own personal and political growth and the development of his most important domestic and foreign policies from November 1912 to November 1914." It focuses "as much as possible upon Wilson and upon the men and events that intimately affected the President and his policies," including relevant "currents of thought," excluding parochial affairs and cultural distentions "in which Wilson took no interest." Using this formula, Link achieves throughout the volume a discriminating balance between man and times. The result satisfies the exacting intellectual and artistic criteria which Professor Nevins proposed some years ago for biography on the grand scale.

Many of Link's interpretations of the great events of 1912-1914, of the changing nature of the New Freedom, and of the character and personality of Woodrow Wilson have already become so much a part of current historiography that this volume contains no surprises. Its basic themes were expounded in the author's influential *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1954) and have since been in large part absorbed by most historians of the Wilson period. This, of course, is an enormous tribute to Professor Link. His very success costs his latest work novelty or suspense. But he has in the volume under review executed impressively the laborious task of providing additional evidence and force for his theses. Especially in his handling of agrarian influence in Congress and within the Democratic party, of Wilson's gradual absorption of the new nationalism, and of the genesis and significance of missionary diplomacy, Link's full treatment contains, for the specialist at least, an excitement of its own.

The scope and documentation of this book give it particular value for professional historians. The author has explored every pertinent source, exploited newspapers and public documents as skillfully as manuscripts, revealed the details of his findings generously, and yet kept his material always under control. He enhances professional understanding of issues previously much discussed—Wilson's techniques of executive leadership and of diplomacy; the legislative history of the Underwood Tariff, the Federal Reserve Act, and the antitrust laws of 1914; the foreign policy of the United States in Central America and during the early stages of the Mexican revolution. Insofar as history is actuality interpreted, Link achieves his expressed hope that this biography will be "nearly definitive."

But the adjective is demanding. The book's assessment of Wilson, reflecting as it does the culture of today and the tensions of the decade since World War II, will probably best satisfy those of us who are Link's contemporaries. The generation that remembers Wilson will doubtless lean still toward the gentler, more

reverent view of Ray Stannard Baker. The terms of evaluation are bound to change again. When they do, Link's work may or may not seem "nearly definitive," but it will by any standard remain, as it now is, absolutely indispensable.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

JOHN M. BLUM

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS DE GUATEMALA. By *John Tate Lanning*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xxv, 372. \$6.50.)

"UNTIL this generation, if not until this moment, tradition outside the Iberian Peninsula has had it that Spain's Empire lived in sleepy isolation and that her colonial policy was one of steadfast opposition to enlightenment." Professor Lanning thus characterizes in his latest book the general view of intellectual life in the Spanish colonies and, by a careful study of the University of Guatemala in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is able to prove that it was an entirely mistaken concept. Basing his conclusions upon a prodigious amount of research, Lanning demonstrates that intellectual leaders were not isolated nor were they deliberately kept in ignorance by the Spanish government. As a matter of fact, Guatemala received the new philosophical ideas of Western Europe at least two decades before the French Revolution. Theses at the University of Guatemala covered the whole range of humanistic and scientific studies, and they indicate that as Peripateticism declined and died, the ideas of important thinkers of Europe reached these students in the New World. Modernism became the dominant note in philosophy, science, and medicine. Outstanding leaders in the intellectual movement were men of real stature, such as José Antonio Goicoechea and José Felipe Flores.

It has long been taken for granted that the Latin American political and intellectual leaders went to Europe for their education, returning home to spread the ideas of the Enlightenment. Lanning shows that this is not true; students received an excellent philosophical education in Guatemala. Some of the leaders, it is true, did go to Europe, but only after they had been trained and had had successful careers in the New World. In Europe they discovered with surprise that there were no great intellectual fields to conquer, and some became disillusioned when they found that they had gone beyond Europeans in many matters. Moreover, a great deal of the learning focused on utility rather than on the so-called Latin abstract concepts.

In spite of its intellectual activity, the University of Guatemala obviously never became an outstanding center of learning. Why? Most readers of this historical review have a very similar problem; the faculty may be good but there is one thing in any time or place that makes possible a really great university—money.

More books like Lanning's would make Latin American historians proud of their field.

University of Missouri

WALTER V. SCHOLÉS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

MODERN ARCHIVES: PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES. By T. R. Schellenberg. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 247. \$5.00.) If, in 1956, a student edition of the *Dictionary of American History* does not include the National Archives among its "over 4,000 entries," all cannot be well with the lines of communication between the historical profession and the archivists of this country. T. R. Schellenberg's book on *Modern Archives* should help to strengthen them. In fact, it should become compulsory reading for historians who plan to work with archives and for the students who, in graduate seminars, wish an introduction to the most important category of historical source material. Triggered by lectures that Dr. Schellenberg gave in Australia and New Zealand under the Fulbright program, the book embodies the practical experience as well as the thoughtful reflections of the author, who now holds the responsible position of Assistant Archivist of the United States. The first part of the book acquaints the reader with the nature of archives, the role of the archival agency, and its relationships with the library, its sister institution. A chapter on the archivist's concern with the administration of current records furnishes an easy transition to the second part, dealing with records management. In the absence of a discipline of "modern diplomatics," the chapters on record classification, registry, and filing systems will give the historian an understanding of the structure of modern archives—so important to him because in the archival agency their original order is retained. The chapters in the third part on the appraisal of records and the principles of their arrangement deserve the special interest of the historian. The former, a model of clear reasoning based on a wealth of experience, will explain the intricate problems of selecting from the great quantity of modern records steadily being produced those worthy of permanent preservation because of their "evidential" or "informational" value. The chapter on arrangement shows how the "principle of provenance" as a governing principle has come to be adopted. Intelligent use of the archives requires that this principle be well understood by the historian. Apart from due attention to European precedent, much of the doctrine of the book is based on techniques and procedures of the National Archives, to which the author himself has made outstanding contributions. This should not limit its usefulness. On the contrary, it sets the standards for American archival institutions on all levels, furnishes them a guide for their own work, and lays the foundations for a sound development of archival administration all over the country. Archivists of foreign countries, too, will appreciate this manual as the only one concerned with the problems of modern archives and as a symptom of the maturity of the archival profession in the United States. It is an excellent book.

ERNST POSNER, *American University*

INTERDISCIPLINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NATIONALISM, 1935-53. By Karl W. Deutsch. (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of M.I.T. 1956. Pp. 165.) Karl Deutsch, one of the leading authorities in the United States on nationalism, here lists about two thousand books and articles in the principal Western languages on

nationalism. His list includes the major studies and most of the minor ones appearing since the Pinson bibliography of 1935. It is to be regretted that Deutsch annotates only a few of the titles. His comments on all would be valuable. Based on the premises that science has unity and that no single discipline is sufficient to deal with the problem, the list contains works from all the social sciences and some of the humanities. The scholar will note a few omissions and wonder why some titles are listed, but this bibliography will be of immense value to students. Equally comprehensive bibliographies are needed on many subjects.

B. C. S.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS: THE PHILOSOPHY OF RENAISSANCE STOICISM. By *Jason Lewis Saunders*. (New York: Liberal Arts Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 228. \$4.50.) This book is a welcome addition to the ever increasing quantity of literature on the philosophic thought of the Renaissance. Justus Lipsius was a Brabançon born in 1547 at Overysse near Brussels. He traveled in Italy where he sharpened his interest in humanist thought. He studied at Louvain, Cologne, and Jena; from 1579 to 1591 he was a professor at the University of Leiden in Holland. Lipsius' mental formation owed much to the propulsive ideas of his age—Renaissance humanism, Protestant reform, Catholic reform, and the political revolutionary upheavals in the Low Countries of his day. It was a period of decline in Scholastic thought. Lipsius was attracted to Stoic teaching but never completely capitulated to it. He adapted an eclectic view in philosophy, guided in this, it appears, by the eclectic character of Stoicism itself. He studied its teachings diligently, tracing the origins of its tenets to Heraclitus who taught that of all existing things none are permanent, to the Cynic Antisthenes who held that virtue is man's only good, to the doctrines of Zeno of the Stoa, and, finally, to Seneca. Lipsius concluded that Stoicism was not a true philosophy, but, friendly to Christianity in respect to its ethical aims, it could perhaps be adapted to the truths of Christianity. He presented his views in two treatises: *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* and *Physiologia Stoicorum*. But Lipsius' endeavors, as Professor Saunders shows, were none too successful. For the god of Stoicism is corporeal, joined with the world through compenetration; nature is pantheistic and materialistic; and "corporeality includes all essences." Stoic epistemology seems unsatisfactory, for it teaches that all thought springs from sensation. Obviously, Christianity, having precise ideas on an Infinite Being, could never adapt itself to Stoic thought, and any union of Stoicism with Christianity was impossible.

HENRY S. LUCAS, *University of Washington*

DAS HISTORISCHE ERKENNEN: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM GESCHICHTS-REALISMUS IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Hellmut Diwald*. [Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, II.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1955. Pp. 109. 9 fl.) The purpose of this little volume is to establish, or to reestablish, history as a legitimate branch of knowledge. History has been turned down a "theoretical blind alley," the author believes, by recent writers on historiography like Wilhelm Dilthey and Friederick Meinecke. In their eagerness to maintain the autonomy of historical study and the validity of its fundamental categories (individuality and the historicity of human life), these writers with their concept of *Verstehen* have inserted the history-knowing subject into the historical object until all distinction between the two is lost and knowledge turns into knowledge of oneself. It is the central thesis of the book that the autonomy and validity of history as science must be secured without such hazardous recourse to subjectivity. In a long introduction—roughly one third of the book—the author develops an epistemological grounding for history that rests on

the neo-realism of Nicolai Hartmann. The remainder of the book is devoted to the history of the present historiographical dilemma. The Romantics are given much credit for the discovery of historical individuality, but by virtue of their attraction to an idealistic metaphysic they established a fateful affinity between idealism and history that boded ill for the future. This became clear in J. G. Droysen's classic historiographical work, *Historik*, which attempted to synthesize speculative idealism, wherein subject and object are one, with objective historical sense. Dilthey and Simmel carry this reconciling of irreconcilables quite to the point of skepticism. Only in the great Ranke does the objective truth shine forth in purity and splendor. Those American historians who experience alarm at the threat of relativism may find some comfort in this book, if they can plod through its rather difficult German. However, they will find the problem of objectivity, the problem of historiographical realism, still unsolved.

LLOYD R. SORENSON, *University of Oregon*

WILHELM DILTHEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By *William Kluback*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 592.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 118. \$3.00.) This small volume attempts to analyze the origins and character of Dilthey's contribution to the history of thought, which is chiefly seen in the development of a methodology and an approach to be employed by the historian of ideas. After a brief description of the largely religious forces molding Dilthey's early opinions, a chapter entitled "Historicism and Idealism" places him in the wide conflict of philosophical ideas of the mid-nineteenth century. Two additional chapters outline his historical methodology and his "final speculations." The essay fails, however, to draw sharp distinctions between the various stages in the development of his philosophy. What is called the "final" thought is by no means Dilthey's ultimate position, and the illustrations offered belong to an even earlier period. The historical place of Dilthey, who, under the influence of Ranke and the German historical school as well as of Comte, tried to refashion the German tradition of *Geistesphilosophie* into *Geisteswissenschaft* remains rather uncertain in this study. Unfortunately, it lacks sharp philosophical delineation and requires the adduction of a greater amount of material concerning the growth of modern historical thought. The presentation is marred by some serious mistakes of fact and interpretation. The historical writings of F. C. Schlosser, a rationalistic moralist of the Enlightenment, are called the realization of "an evolutionary pantheism," identical with Dilthey's views. Kuno Fischer, the most admired historian of philosophy prior to Dilthey, becomes erroneously a "left-wing" Hegelian. In the bibliography some of the most valuable articles in English are missing, such as those by Ortega y Gasset, Collingwood, Friess, Morgan. No use has been made of the volume of Dilthey articles which was published in 1954 under the title *Die grosse Phantasiedichtung*.

HAJO HOLBORN, *Yale University*

GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES IN DOKUMENTEN. Volume III, DER AUSBRUCH DES KRIEGES 1939. Edited by *Michael Freund*. [Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten.] (Freiburg: Herder; Freiburg and Munich: Karl Alber. 1956. Pp. ix, 440.) This volume of a series containing documents with connecting discussion and commentary covers the month of August, 1939. The documents, organized into overlapping sections, each dealing with a facet of the fatal crisis, enable the reader to follow the hectic negotiations in which a nation that had unconditionally surrendered itself to Hitler dragged the world into the abyss. The documents show how the Soviet Union and Italy temporarily held back; the role of

the United States is reflected with considerable accuracy by its absence from the stage. The editor who selected the documents for this volume merits the sympathy of all who have struggled with the massive quantity of material to be considered. Space, however, should have been found for Weizsäcker's telegram to Ribbentrop of August 18 (Nuremberg document NG-2172), in which the German tactic of continuously raising demands to ensure failure of negotiations is revealed with startling clarity. The connecting narrative and technical apparatus are good in parts but on the whole unsatisfactory. The editor's anti-Polish prejudices, visible also in the preceding volume (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [July, 1956], 1000), seriously affect his work. For example, the Danzig customs dispute is described purely along the official National Socialist line, although proof that the Polish ultimatum was justified has—in spite of Freund's assertion—been published in the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Volume VI, Number 774. The book teems with weak points and errors. The almost certainly fabricated speech of Stalin at the August 19 Politburo meeting is included as a document without a word of caution; the comparison between the German-Soviet Pact and the Berlin Treaty of 1926 misses the main points; the memoirs of Nevile Henderson are cited as a diary; Count Ciano's diary is quoted for his August 11, 1939, meeting with Ribbentrop, but there is no indication that the diary entry is dated December 23, 1943; no sources are given for several documents; some of the source citations are incomplete, some are entirely erroneous. The list could be extended. In view of this work's wide circulation in Germany, one may hope for a second edition prepared with less passion and more care.

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Medieval History

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MATERIAŁY ŹRÓDŁOWE DO HISTORII POLSKI EPOKI FEUDALNEJ [Source Materials on the History of Feudal Poland]. Volume I, SŁOWIAŃSZCZYNA PIERWOTNA [The Original Slavic Domain, Selected Texts]. By Gerard Labuda. (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1954. Pp. 359.) The publication of this volume does not signify that collections of readings are becoming as popular in Europe as they are in this country. Here the new books of readings serve to compensate for inadequate library resources in the face of growing classroom enrollments. Labuda was prompted by a different motive: to give the student of history an opportunity to use original sources in an area where the language barrier, due to the multiplicity of languages, is practically insurmountable. Intended for use primarily by Polish pro-seminar students, the book presents the most important steps in the historical development of the Slavs as reflected in written sources. It covers the period from the sixth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D., tracing the history of the Slavs from their origins in the Vistula and Dnieper basins to the formation of early feudal states. Political organization, military activity, agriculture, industry, commerce, and religious beliefs are among the subjects dealt with in the readings. Relying rather heavily on the works of Bruckner and Plezia, the author has made no original contribution to knowledge. But he has performed an invaluable service for the neophyte in history by his judicious selection of texts, his numerous explanatory notations, his complete index to names and places, and his bibliographical list

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

of the original sources from which the texts were chosen. In conclusion, it is amusing to note that a separate one-page bibliography includes what the editor of the series refers to as the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism. These are references to those writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin that apparently have some connection (however remote) with primitive Slavdom.

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HUGH DU PUISET, BISHOP OF DURHAM. By G. V. Scammell. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 354. \$7.50.) This is a first-rate study of the twelfth-century prince-bishop of Durham. Hugh du Puiset came of a formidable family in France, noted for its turbulence and its crusades. Through his mother he was a member of the great house of Blois, and he was promoted to his rich bishopric by the influence of his uncles, King Stephen and Henry, bishop of Winchester. Only at the end of his life did Hugh have a brief and unsuccessful fling in national politics, but in the north of England he enjoyed a long and prosperous reign in the liberty of Durham with all its power and its wealth. Not a truly great man, he was assured a niche in history by virtue of his family and his office. Scammell studies Hugh both as bishop and as baron. Long chapters give an exhaustive account of his part in ecclesiastical politics and of his activities as a diocesan, especially his conflicts with the monks of Durham and his metropolitan, the archbishop of York. A detailed account of the work of the twelfth-century episcopate gives substance to the recent general accounts of Professors Knowles and Cheney. But Scammell makes clear that Hugh was much more baron than bishop. He used his bishopric to further the interests of his three or four sons and his other relatives. He was famed for the splendor of his life, for the magnificence of his buildings, both castles and churches, for his great hunts, his great ship, his fine clothes, and his sumptuous table. He was a patron of learning and the arts like other princes. At the beginning and at the end of his career he commanded troops, but Durham was not a border county in the late twelfth century and Hugh kept no great feudal force. Rather, feudalism provided him with revenues, along with those he derived from his franchises and his manors, with which to maintain the great estate he kept. In this study we are given an example of the English barony as described in general by Professor Painter. Appendixes of documents, Hugh's Itinerary, a note on the Durham monks' forgeries, and a genealogy complete this very useful work.

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MARSILIUS OF PADUA: THE DEFENDER OF PEACE. Volume II, THE *DEFENSOR PACIS*. Translated with an introduction by Alan Gewirth. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XLVI.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xciv, 450. \$8.50.) The publication of this translation of the *Defensor Pacis* is welcome indeed. If I had to make adversely critical remarks about the introductory volume in these pages (*AHR*, LVIII [January, 1953], 338-40), I am happy that I can praise the second volume with little qualification. For here we now have the first complete, really modern translation of the famous treatise into English. And the translation is good, observing both the sense and the letter of the Latin text. As an introduction to the translation there is a useful, generally clear outline and explanation of Marsiglio's work and a justification of the English renderings of certain words, such as *demonstratio*, *causa*, *necessitas*, *status*, and *communitas*. Two brief appendixes treat special topics relating to Marsiglio's misinterpretation of Aristotle and to the influence of political Averroism. The index is good on the subject matter, but I miss an index to the sources Marsiglio refers to.

In his own comments, Professor Gewirth is restrained and sound in judgment. Yet his interpretation of the words *status* and "state" and of the meaning of *universitas superiorem non recognoscens* lags behind recent scholarship. And I doubt that Marsiglio's statement that the ruler should be the best man in the polity is "a marked ignoring of the papalist claims of superior virtue." Again, there is too much stress on the Aristotelian origin of the idea of the naturalness of states that are independent of the empire. In relation to the translation and to the generally high value of the study of the contents, however, these criticisms are not serious. Gewirth has given us a fine English version of this fascinating treatise.

GAINES POST, *University of Wisconsin*

DRONNING MARGARETA OG KALMAR-UNIONEN. By *Halvdan Koht*. [Kriseår i norsk historie.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug. 1956. Pp. 136.) When Margaret (1353-1412), the daughter of a Danish king, was married to Haakon, son of Norway's king Magnus, she was in line to become Norway's queen. How she became ruler of all Scandinavia is Professor Koht's main theme. When her son Olav was born (1370), the Hansa towns held privileged positions in both Sweden and Denmark, and the Mecklenburg duke Albrecht had designs on the northern crowns. Before Haakon VI's death (1380) Margaret had already won the Danish crown for their young son Olav against the active candidacy of a nephew of the Mecklenburg duke, but she kept the power in her own hands. Acquisition of royal power in Sweden was more complicated, as duke Albrecht had illegally seized the Swedish throne in 1364 with Hansa town aid. Albrecht was eventually defeated, and Margaret was accepted as Sweden's ruler ("fuldmektig frue og rett husbonde"). The Union of Kalmar was made possible after Sweden had given Margaret the royal title. Owing to the paucity of contemporary sources, historians have offered differing opinions on its evolution, its validity as a binding legal document on the three kingdoms, and the personalities who had most to do with it. Koht does not accept Swedish historian Sällstrand's thesis that the "Union letter" of 1397 was a definitive charter or his assertion that it was a Swedish document in its earlier phase. Neither does he agree with Erslev's hint that lack of Norwegian seals on the final draft was due to disapproval; it was due rather to Norway's desire for a hereditary monarchy. Koht suggests that it was in essence a draft, probably drawn up by the Danish chancellor for the queen, who hoped it would be accepted as basis for a legal union of the three kingdoms. Evidence turned up by Sven Tunberg in 1947 that the Kalmar document had not been brought back to Denmark, but had been taken to Norway and later returned to Denmark in 1425, is accepted by Koht as helping to explain the absence of Norwegian seals on it; this was not because of Norwegian opposition, but rather because so few Norwegians were present at the meeting. Moreover, Margaret was too practical a statesman to insist on formal ratification. Koht quotes an appraisal of Margaret by a Danish sixteenth-century chronicler: "She was a powerful ruler and also a woman of unusual wisdom, spiritual force and manly courage, who, though a woman, managed with matchless skill to unite the three realms, something that pious and superior men had been unable to do." Koht's interpretation of this "manly" medieval ruler of the North will certainly be welcomed and thoughtfully considered by historians of the period.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

AN ELIZABETHAN: SIR HORATIO PALAVICINO. By Lawrence Stone. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 345. \$7.20.) The equivocal hero of *An Elizabethan*, Sir Horatio Palavicino, was a member of one of those ancient families of merchant-aristocrats that thrived for centuries in Italy's two great ports, Genoa and Venice. Himself a Genoese, Horatio came to England in the late 1570's because of the export monopoly of the alum of Tolfa held by his family. Alum was indispensable in the dyeing industry, and a complicated deal among the Dutch, the Palavicini, and Queen Elizabeth established Horatio's fortune, gave his family the monopoly of the Dutch alum market, and tied his interests to those of England and England's Queen. For the rest of his life, he served all three of those interests with great energy and large profit. His wide business connections abroad enabled him to take up where Sir Thomas Gresham left off as England's fiscal agent in the Continental money markets, and his closeness to the English court drew him into a complex web of activities where his peculiar talents and his international contacts were useful. Following the tortuous lines of Palavicino's dealings, Stone skillfully takes his readers on a guided tour of the financial, factional, and diplomatic half-world of the Elizabethan Age. The story Stone tells is fascinating, enlightening, and—for those to

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

whom that age has hitherto appeared as a potpourri of bold adventure, high principle, heroism, and magnificence—a little disturbing. For Horatio operated in the sector of the Elizabethan world where the price of principle and heroism had to be haggled over, set, and paid, the cost of magnificence assessed, the money for bold adventure found, and the spoils it gained split among the investors. Stone offers knowledgeable and expert guidance in this little-explored territory and provides us with a useful corrective to the somewhat romanticized, unduly nostalgic image of Good Queen Bess's glorious days that is the specialty of A. L. Rowse. One reservation may be worth expressing. Stone's firm resolution to find nothing but fraudulence and chicanery in his unheroic hero leads him to treat both actual chicanery and normal business prudence with the same lofty contempt. It may be that Stone's propensity to assume the posture of a disabused lamp-bearing Diogenes has led him to overlook or underemphasize two generalizations that his story effectively sustains. First, the economic ethic of Elizabethan England was the ethic of a booming commercial frontier. Inevitably English law had lagged behind English trade. The only social cure for the ineptness of the legal apparatus was the slow evolution of a body of commercial law adequate to the new dimension of trade; in the meantime, in the business world, mercantile sharp practice was less a matter of inclination than a condition of survival. Secondly, the role of the court in economic affairs was such that scarcely any new business project could get under way and scarcely any old one could keep on its way except through court favor. Such favor was up for auction, fetched a good price, and enriched those who had it to dispense. Stone seems to have provided considerable confirmation for Trevor-Roper's thesis that for ambitious men in the days of Elizabeth, were it ever so humble, there was no place like a place at court.

J. H. HEXTER, *Queens College*

PETERBOROUGH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION: ELIZABETHAN PETERBOROUGH, THE DEAN AND CHAPTER AS LORDS OF THE CITY. Edited with an introduction by *W. T. Mellows* and *Daphne H. Gifford*. [Tudor Documents, Part III.] (Northamptonshire, Eng.: Northamptonshire Record Society. 1956. Pp. lix, 205, 25s.) Converting the abbey church into a cathedral did not lessen the impact of Tudor problems and changes on Peterborough local government. In the introduction to this fifth volume on Peterborough local administration, the editors give an admirable reconstruction of the changing Elizabethan cathedral precincts and of local administration and courts. In printing mostly surviving cathedral records of the period, the editors abbreviated some of the court rolls but changed little in the documents illustrating the powers and privileges of the cathedral authorities. Unfortunately episcopal carelessness, the fury of Cromwell's soldiers in 1643, and time have left but a lean body of documents, which gives one explanation why "the dealings with church property at this time were certainly very complicated and peculiar."

ARTHUR P. KAUTZ, *Michigan State University*

SUTTON AND DUNCTON MANORS. By *Lord Leconfield*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. 107. \$4.80.) Lord Leconfield's book describes and analyzes two Sussex manors of the Percy family in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Based on surveys and court books in the Percy muniments, it supplements his earlier *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1954). This is manorial history, pure and simple, with little reference to the broader problems of management of the Percy estates in a time of agrarian change. The affairs of a Richard Gunter, a Dame Judith Garton, even a George Goble loom as large as those

of the earls of Northumberland. Although Lord Leconfield keeps his feet firmly planted in the "plough," Sutton and Duncton, it is clear, reflect the agrarian trends of the time. Manor receipts doubled in the late sixteenth century, chiefly as a consequence of improved lease rents on demesnes. To a certain extent the lord contributed to this development. In Duncton the seventh earl was buying up lands, including some from adjacent manors, to consolidate his leased demesnes and to relet at augmented rents. After 1600 corn rents were imposed, a "reactionary" but profitable recourse, but one resented by tenants and, one would imagine, by the lord's bailiffs. Despite all this, one has the impression that these manors were indifferently managed. As one earl succeeded another in comfortable but well-nigh permanent confinement in the Tower of London, Sutton and Duncton appear to have followed their own course of evolution. The main point which emerges from this study is the variety and complexity of tenant interests flourishing within—and somewhat stultifying—the old manorial forms. There was, Lord Leconfield says, "a passionate regard for the six-acre principle" in copyholds, and ancient tenements remained constant through the years. But although copyholders at Sutton averaged six acres, many had forty or fifty acres in all, a composite of various old tenements; one Sutton family, the Foords, held a quarter of all copyhold land in the manor, a lease of the demesne, and other lands in adjacent manors as well. Lord Leconfield has refrained from drawing the conclusion, but the villagers of Sutton and Duncton, amid a welter of mutual sales, purchases, lettings, sublettings, and mortgages, were sorting themselves out. Some tenants were as affluent and others as deeply in debt as any noble lords; in this, Sutton and Duncton reveal in microcosm the larger tendencies of agrarian England.

WILLIAM R. EMERSON, *Yale University*

THE RISE OF THE PELHAMS. By *John B. Owen*. (London: Methuen and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 357. 30s.) Dr. Owen has written an admirable study of the structure of politics in Britain in the 1740's. From the personal biographies of the 686 members elected to the Parliament of 1741-1747 he has developed an analysis of the political elements in the House of Commons, which he places in three major groups: "the Court and Treasury Party," who normally supported the ministry of the day, numbering a few more than 100; the Independents, roughly 350; and the professional politicians, approximately 100. The struggle for office lay between rival groups of professionals, who, counting upon the loyalty of the court and treasury party, contested for the support of enough Independents to provide a stable working majority. Yet, Owen explains, the House of Commons was but one source of political power. The other was the king. To become prime minister in the eighteenth century a man must be at once "minister for the king in the house of commons" and "minister for the house of commons in the closet." The establishment of a secure, effective administration depended upon the winning of this dual position by one professional politician. Carteret failed to understand this, and he soon fell. Henry Pelham, aided by Newcastle and Hardwicke, got a clear grasp of reality, and in time, a clear grasp of both king and Commons. His regime lasted till his death. Owen sustains his thesis well. His knowledge of the Parliament of 1741-1747 is deeply impressive. One may carp here and there at a broad generalization, e.g.: "The transformation from Tory to Whig was an irreversible process"; "Yet on grounds of policy alone it is difficult to differentiate the Tories from the remaining members on the Opposition side of the house." But the validity of such statements depends largely upon the point of view from which they are made. Owen suffers somewhat from a superficial knowledge of the politics of the 1730's, particularly on the origin of the "Broad Bottom

doctrine," which antedates by some years the defection of Argyll. Yet such considerations do not shake his main contentions. This is a judicious and lucid portrayal of how the Pelhams succeeded to the heritage of Walpole. In their "rise," they reemerge as the shrewdest politicians of their generation. They were not brilliant statesmen, but they knew the arts of management. Above all they knew the need for concert, as Newcastle once wrote, "in action; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things." For a clear understanding of how and why the Pelhams encompassed their ends we are greatly indebted to Owen.

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD, *Yale University*

HOME AND ABROAD. By *Lord Strang*. (London: Andre Deutsch. 1956. Pp. 320. 21s.) Lord Strang's memoirs suggest once again that it is the Foreign Office which deserves the title of "the silent service." Although Lord Strang had a distinguished career at home and abroad and participated in some of the major bouts of modern diplomacy, his volume adds but little to our knowledge; that discretion which is second nature to a permanent undersecretary restrains the instincts of the historian. Thus we are allowed only tantalizing glimpses of Lord Strang's experiences: the Moscow trials of the British engineers, the events of Munich, the controversial conversations of 1939 among England, France, and Russia, and the formation of the European Advisory Commission in 1944. As head of the Central Department (the German Office), Lord Strang did not share the intransigence of his predecessor, Ralph Wigram, nor was he in accord with Chamberlain's hopes. The entire Munich Conference struck him as violating "all the decencies of international life," but his account hardly goes beyond the published documents. Strang's record of the 1939 tripartite negotiations, in which he played a signal role, still leaves unanswered basic queries posed in an earlier work by Sir Lewis Namier. The value of this book lies in its portrait of the diplomatic temper and a defense of the art. The 1944 talks between Winant and Gusev are a case in point. They dragged on for eighteen months and resulted in an agreement that ignored the more intractable realities of power politics. But in this atmosphere of the "old diplomacy" the author's qualities—his industry, patience, and sense of history—could best emerge. The book also includes acute vignettes of diplomats at work, particularly those Russian negotiators whose massive obstinancy sometimes won the respect of their exasperated opponents. It pays a perceptive tribute to the genius of Ernest Bevin and gives a revealing analysis of the heavy burden that now rests on the top permanent official in Whitehall. Though Lord Strang did not enter the Foreign Office by the hallowed Eton-Oxford path, his devotion to accuracy and fine penmanship and his integrity of spirit point both to a successor of Eyre Crowe and a student of Proust.

ZARA S. STEINER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: AN EXPERIMENT IN CO-OPERATION AMONG NATIONS. By *Frank H. Underhill*. [Publications of the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Lecture Series.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 127. \$2.00.) Professor Underhill, a Canadian historian, gave the three lectures here printed at the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. This volume, first to be published for the Center by the Duke University Press, treats the Liberal Victorian Empire, the First Commonwealth, and the Second Commonwealth. Underhill's emphasis on Canada's leading place is justified: Canada, over a century ago, set the fashion for responsible government in the colonies and later led the movement toward larger federations. The first lecture reviews the well-known developments in the so-called New Empire of the last century, with its Kip-

ling-Chamberlain type of expansionist imperialism, and the efforts to bring about a closer union. The southern colonies might have had more attention because of the amazing migration that took homemade ideas to the antipodes. The influence of American democratic ideas on constitution making in Australia and South Africa as well as in Canada might have been included. The "colonial" treatment of Ireland was hardly in line with the lecturer's general argument, but it is one of the "uglier aspects," admittedly neglected. The treatment of the First Commonwealth is an excellent account of the evolution between 1914 and 1945. The fundamental fact underlying the Commonwealth, it would seem, was that the Dominions supported Britain in two world wars. That the United States also did so might have been emphasized, as it appears to have brought about a situation in which, as the lecturer puts it, "all roads in the Commonwealth now lead to Washington." The lecture on the Second Commonwealth summarizes changes and trends since 1945, changes so diverse as almost to defy synthesis—a commonwealth that includes a republic (Ceylon), omits another (Eire), and embraces a dissident India, some "dark-skinned" commonwealths, and a restive South Africa. Such changes hardly add up as yet to a Second Commonwealth; the period would appear to be a time of further disintegration, calling for redefinition. The lectures are a valuable synthesis, shot through with deft statement, a sense of humor, and keen appraisals. The appended selection of readings omits some of the standard works, includes valuable current material, and gives heavy emphasis to matters Canadian.

HOWARD ROBINSON, *Oberlin College*

THE APPROACH TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. By *Sir Ivor Jennings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 204. \$3.00.) This volume was prepared originally as a script for a series of talks to be broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation to inform the general public of some of the major problems in preparing dependent colonies for self-government and independence. The book is based upon the author's own experience in assisting the colonies of Ceylon and Pakistan in shaping their constitutions for membership in the British Commonwealth and upon his knowledge of India's experiences in constitution making. He is concerned primarily with the characteristics of the constitutions and the administrative machinery to fit these countries for their new and more responsible status as independent nations. The twelve chapters are carefully prepared and well written by an eminent scholar and constitutional lawyer, who has had rich experience with the developments he so ably describes. He discusses the theory of constitutional self-government and the character of the people and their special problems; considers the need for a bill of rights and the problem of election; he analyzes the problems of legislatures, legislation, and administration; includes the problem of education and the dilemma of representative institutions and the difficulties of a successful executive organization; and deals frankly with the importance of parties and the grave limitations of party government on the long and difficult road to independence. In his last chapter he discusses the problem of transfer from the status of a dependency to that of a self-governing independent unit. The book is of signal importance to students of colonial administration and to all administrators and politicians who have the responsibility of shaping constitutional government for those areas and peoples where it has not previously existed. The observations are wise, calm, and judicious; the thesis of the book might very well be stated "for the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON, *State University of Iowa*

AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL POLICY: A SURVEY OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION AND EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT IN PAPUA. By J. D. Legge. [Published under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Sydney: Angus and Robertson; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. ix, 245. \$3.50.) This study opens with an examination of early Australian ambitions in New Guinea, in the face of British reluctance, which climaxed in the abortive annexation of Eastern New Guinea by Queensland in 1883. The subsequent reshuffle led to the British protectorate over Papua in 1884 and to annexation in 1888. From 1888 to 1905 Papua was jointly ruled by Britain, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. This clumsy system allowed great powers to the able administrator, William MacGregor. Upon the complex Papuan society of many tribes and weak chiefs, MacGregor and his Fijian sergeants imposed a paternal rule, supervising the trickle of white traders and miners to prevent changes in native life. Little Australian capital volunteered, and Australian nationalists blocked the major British investment move. Australian direct rule, begun in 1905, produced another benevolently despotic proconsul, John Murray (1907-1940), who brought law to the high interior. MacGregor's native policy of "peaceful sloth" gave way in a world where jungles were becoming obsolete. Indirect rule began in the villages; the Papuans began to pay by labor drafts for their welfare benefits; development capital was invited but its labor recruitment—including indenture—was watched to check "blackbirding." Papua, however, remained basically a retarded society on subsistence agriculture. The Japanese invasion in 1942 ended this old regime, and the area was administered by a branch of H. Q. New Guinea Force. Heavy labor drafts and poorly supervised compensation payment to natives produced some social and psychological difficulties typified by the "cargo cults." In 1945 Papua and New Guinea were united as Australian trustee areas. The administration began a program of training natives to meet modern conditions: it supported more schools, use of marketing cooperatives, and improved local self-government. Indenture was abolished and voluntary labor, conditioned by the war years, increased. Adaptation to modern ways came slowly, but ample funds and increasingly competent staffs initiated the new age of centralized control under direct scrutiny of Canberra. This is an informative and scholarly book, but the author has slighted the conquest of the north from Germany, the Japanese occupation, and in fact the drama of the Pacific frontier. His treatment of McIlwraith's unauthorized annexation ignores its *opéra bouffe* circumstances. Finally, the author hardly touches the present issue: Will the new policy sacrifice economic development to native welfare or is the area to become an adjunct of Australia's economy?

CHARLES S. BLACKTON, *Colgate University*

THE CANADIANS IN ITALY, 1943-1945. By Lt. Col. G. W. L. Nicholson. [Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Volume II.] (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier. 1956. Pp. xv, 807. \$3.50.) The second volume of the official Canadian trilogy on World War II, this is a detailed, comprehensive, well-documented, competently written, and well-organized account of Canadian combat operations in Sicily and Italy. The forces involved initially included only the First Canadian Infantry Division but for a long period comprised a two-divisional corps and the United States-Canadian First Special Service Force, a first-rate commando-type outfit. The volume, which benefits from full access to Canadian records and the private papers of two top generals, is a standing refutation to the carping critics who hold that official history can be neither honest nor accurate. Nicholson faithfully records both the achievements and the shortcomings of the Canadian forces, notably in the most im-

portant phase of the entire campaign, the final successful drive on Rome in May-June, 1944. Based on the extensive diggings by Captain A. C. Steiger in the mine of captured German and Italian records, it provides that two-sided vision of the battlefield that the military historian always covets but seldom achieves because the documents are most frequently available for only one side. The illustrations are excellent. The multitude of maps graphically illuminates a host of corps, division, and small-unit actions, but most would have benefited from the inclusion of enemy dispositions. In three respects, which fortunately do not detract unduly from the main value of the work, this reviewer must take exception to Nicholson's treatment. Even though the full Allied records or the pertinent official histories of the United States and Britain were not yet available, Nicholson accepts with fewer grains of salt than the facts justify the explanations of higher Allied commanders that their important tactical decisions were in fact the best and the only ones possible in the circumstances. He also underestimates the effect of these command decisions on the course and results of Allied operations in contrast to the great emphasis which he puts on German command, tactics, and defensive terrain. Even though he pays high tribute to the United States Fifth Army, notably the French Expeditionary Corps, Nicholson fails to recognize the decisive influence that their bold, aggressive operations had on the advance of the Eighth Army, including the Canadian Corps, on the break-through of every prepared position in the Gari-Liri Valley, and in forcing repeated German withdrawals from successive hasty delaying positions south of Rome. Finally, the records of several American divisions that had had no previous training in mountain warfare causes one to ask why the higher British commanders thought that British and Dominion troops, even after a year in Italy, could not operate effectively in the mountains. It is in fact the deepest irony of the war in the Mediterranean that Alexander and the three officers who successively commanded the Eighth Army by set-piece attacks, methodical exploitation down the valleys, and the avoidance of the mountains minimized the gains from the Anglo-American strategy of containment, which after all was primarily British-inspired and British-championed.

SIDNEY T. MATHEWS, *Arlington, Virginia*

NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *John W. Blake*. (Belfast: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xv, 569. \$5.60 postpaid.) For the British Empire, fighting a war is a complex operation. Autonomous parts must suddenly fuse into a smooth-running machine, and because the machine functions so efficiently, the role of the parts may often be overlooked. The contributions of semi-autonomous Northern Ireland to the British war effort have been competently evaluated by John W. Blake. His conclusions are based upon an extensive and effective use of official government records. Strategically Northern Ireland was of major military importance to the Allied cause in protecting the entire island from invasion, guarding the vital Atlantic supply line, and welcoming the first American troops stationed in the United Kingdom. The people of Northern Ireland were also a considerable factor in the final victory. Young men and women served with distinction in all branches of the military forces. Civilians cooperated with government officials in organizing a civil defense and in meeting agricultural and industrial production quotas. The author is, however, convinced that the British Government's failure to apply military conscription to Northern Ireland somewhat impeded the war effort. Blake seldom discusses the wartime activity of Northern Ireland's large nationalist minority except in connection with security problems. It would be interesting to know if many nationalists enlisted in the services, joined the Home Guard, or contributed to agricultural and industrial production.

By emphasizing the difficulties faced by the government of Northern Ireland in organizing the civilian war effort, the author tediously repeats himself. This fault does not prevent the book from taking its place as a significant contribution to the histories of the Second World War and the British Empire. It is certainly a tribute to the Unionists of Northern Ireland who proved in battle their faith in and affection for the British connection.

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FRANCE

*Beatrice F. Hyslop*¹

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS ET DES FAITS SOCIAUX (X^e-XIX^e SIÈCLE). By *Jean Imbert, Gérard Sautel, and Marguerite Boulet-Sautel*. ["Thémis" Textes et Documents.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 404. 980 fr.) The editors, all members of the faculty of law at the University of Nancy, have compiled this collection of readings from a great variety of materials that appeared in France between the tenth and nineteenth centuries. The readings are designed to illustrate material presented in the second year law courses and stimulate a desire on the part of law students to consult source materials more extensively. The carefully selected repertory embraces a vast range of materials, such as a tenth-century theologian's concept of royalty, medieval timber and mineral concessions, records of medieval ecclesiastical dues, sixteenth-century commercial and industrial regulations, and seventeenth-century commentaries on the role of the nobility and the institution of serfdom. Most of the readings, quoting the writings of Bodin, Rousseau, Seyssel, Bossuet, Loysel, Vauban, Quesnay, Saint-Simon, and Madame de Sevigné, are focused upon the early modern development of French political ideas and institutions. Nearly one fourth of the materials relate directly to the great reforms of the Revolution and Napoleon. The final section, embracing the early and middle nineteenth century, emphasizes the social impact of early French industrialism, cites the main findings of Villermé's famous inquiry of 1840, and adds relevant comments of Say, Proudhon, Blanc, and Considérant, among others. Those materials that initially appeared in Latin are reproduced in the original, accompanied by modern French translations; the texts written in French, of whatever period, are not "modernized." The utility of the readings to law students is obvious. Moreover, this volume will be welcomed by specialists in the areas of political theory and political, economic, and social history. On the other hand, the professional historian will be dismayed by the absence of historical works and commentaries and by the necessary brevity and bewildering variety of the readings.

ALFRED G. PUNDT, *Pennsylvania State University*

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND STAATSAUFFASSUNG IN DER FRANZÖSISCHEN ENZYKLOPÄDIE. By *Eberhard Weis*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band 14.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1956. Pp. viii, 285.) What precisely was the political theory embedded in the *Encyclopédie*? And what do its articles on history and biography, especially those referring to the Middle Ages, reveal of their authors' points of view and theories of historiography? These are important questions, very much worth tackling anew, especially as it is sometimes tempting to suppose that the Encyclopedists had so low an opinion of history as not to have any specific historical doctrine at all. With remarkable diligence, Dr. Weis has passed all the multitudinous articles of the mighty work through his critical sieve and has consulted the apposite secondary material. After a preliminary chapter, he discusses successively "The Encyclopedists' Image of the Medieval State," "Rulers and Events in Medieval History in the Judgment of the Encyclopedists," "Medieval Religion and Culture according to the Historical Interpretation of the Encyclopedists—The Relation of Church and State," "Modern Europe in the Mirror of the *Encyclopédie*," and "The Political Conceptions of the Encyclopedists." As a result of the evidence set forth in this volume, and in that by Dr. Nelly Schargo a few years ago, it is no longer possible to suppose that

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

there is no history writing, as such, in the *Encyclopédie*. But both Dr. Weis and Dr. Schargo, it seems to me, tend to press their triumphant discovery a little too far. For it is still true to say that the Encyclopedists had little faith in history. It was a case of history without *Historismus*. Consequently, though the Encyclopedists allude to historical events, they do so more like ideologists than historians; as one makes oneself aware of their judgments on history, one always hears the slight click of the dogmatist cocking the blunderbuss of his own predilections. The political theory of the Encyclopedists, however, is quite another matter, and here Weis excels. He points out the differences among the several contributors; contrasts their theories with those of earlier writers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf; and penetratingly analyzes the implications of Rousseau's article on "Political Economy." He is able to show most persuasively that, save for certain nuances, the Encyclopedists (with the exception of Rousseau) held in common a political doctrine that was self-consistent. Weis's important monograph raises many interesting points, both of substance and of method, which invite discussion. One would like to see, complementary to the rather descriptive and summarizing approach he utilizes, some attempt at tabulation of the articles according to the various techniques of content analysis. Moreover, it would be extremely useful to students of the history of ideas to have the contents of the articles in Volumes I-VII, VIII-XVII, and the Supplement, appearing as they did in three successive decades, more clearly compared and contrasted, in order to establish trends and estimate influences. Nevertheless, this is a stimulating monograph by a talented scholar whose familiarity with the material is so great that he often points out what sources the Encyclopedists did not use, as well as those they did.

ARTHUR M. WILSON, *Dartmouth College*

ROBESPIERRE. By Marc Bouloiseau. ["Que sais-je?" Number 724.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 128.) M. Bouloiseau, one of the editors of the latest edition of Robespierre's speeches, disclaims any effort to present in this small book either a complete biography or a recital of events. Obviously this was impossible, so he has limited himself to an account of the evolution of Robespierre's thought. The early chapters are an exposition of his fundamental principles, the latter an examination of the application of this ideology during the crises through which the Revolution passed. Bouloiseau generally is sympathetic with his subject, as most biographers are, and in consequence occasionally presents interpretations with which one could quarrel. On the other hand, he admits that Robespierre played no role in the "*préparation matérielle*" of August 10. He also concedes that Robespierre unduly emphasized political solutions at the expense of economic. The major criticism of this reviewer rests upon the plan of the book itself. The overwhelming concentration on Robespierre's views and reactions almost persuades the reader that Robespierre was the only man of stature during these years and that to him France is indebted for most of the good and none of the evil of the Revolution.

J. B. ŠIRICH, *University of Illinois*

MARXISM AND FRENCH LABOR. By Leon A. Dale. (New York: Vantage Press. 1956. Pp. 273. \$4.50.) An economist attempts here to tell the story of modern French labor since the French Revolution and to explore the impact of Marxism on this important European labor movement. The objective, the author informs us, is to provide the "general background necessary for understanding present-day labor developments in France, and for understanding the conflict now being fought within the ranks of the working-class." A former assistant to the European representative of the American Federation of Labor, Dale has had good opportunity to observe recent

events at firsthand; for earlier years he has utilized the existing secondary literature. One laudable by-product of his efforts is a lengthy and useful bibliography. The book as a whole, however, is less than satisfactory; its weakness resides principally in its oversimplification of complex issues and its intemperate tone. Dale seems to see the history of French labor from a single point of view, as the story of "how Marxism began as a red thread in the texture of French labor and, as communism, has now become almost the basic pattern itself." On that theme the entire volume is focused, with a resultant loss of perspective and breadth. Anachronistic ideas and expressions crop up throughout. In referring, for example, to the establishment of the unified French Socialist party in 1905, the startling statement appears: "The Marxists wanted reunification that year because of Russian developments. They felt that unification with the socialists would give them more support in gaining political and labor strength so as to influence both national and foreign French policy for the benefit of the Soviet Revolution" (p. 57). This in 1905! Even in its treatment of the last twenty-five years, where the study seems on less slippery ground, many questionable judgments and assertions are made, with inadequate evidence offered to substantiate them. The unsympathetic remarks about both Mendès-France and the Catholic trade-union movement would certainly fall into that category. That French labor today is weak and divided, with its largest confederation in Communist hands, is tragic, and understandably a source of concern to the author, but it is doubtful whether this study will contribute much, either for the general reader or for the specialist, toward clarifying the course of events that has led to that situation.

JOEL COLTON, *Duke University*

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Gordon Griffiths

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

TALT OG SKREVET. By Francis Bull. (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 1956. Pp. 300.) Professor Francis Bull is the outstanding Norwegian historian of literature (see his *Verdenslitteraturens historie* [Oslo, 1947]) and, one suspects, not very well affected toward the *New Criticism*. (Incidentally, his great work in keeping up morale while a prisoner of the Germans in the Grini concentration camp near Oslo is reflected in his book, *Thirteen Speeches at Grini*.) The present work contains one extended review, originally published in the *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, but the other essays were given as speeches, some for centenaries, or were contributions to a *Festschrift*. In the review, of the five-volume *Norsk kulturhistorie* (Oslo, 1938-42), Francis Bull shows a concept of history radically different from that of his brother, Edvard Bull (1881-1932) who, as professor of history at Oslo, played down the role of the great man in history and stressed that of impersonal forces. Francis Bull complains that the writers in *Norwegian Cultural History* conscientiously avoid the eminent and the outstanding and seek out the average and the workaday. The authors were so preoccupied by the average Norwegian's struggle for bread—and certainly this was important to the average Norwegian and his country—that they forgot that man “does not live by bread alone.” Francis Bull, a descendant of one of the Lutheran priest-dynasties, the subject of one of the essays in the work, notes that the religious life, even of the average man, is neglected. Of the essays and speeches, an appreciation of H. C. Ørsted, the Danish scientist, and a plea to his audience to be charitable to Knut Hamsun and to judge him by his literary contribution may be singled out. Of particular interest is an appreciation of the beloved Bergen-born Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) without any of the usual half-humorous disputation with the Danes as to whether Father Holberg was a Norwegian or a Dane. It is far from unusual to get startling illumination, even of a well-studied period such as the Enlightenment, from the pen of a litterateur or historian from a “Minor” country. Francis Bull, with the vast background that can be surmised from his books, does not fail to provide such flashes.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

DEMOKRATIA JA TOTAALINEN SOTA: TUTKIMUS POLIITTISSOTILAAL-
LISEN SODANJOHDON TEORIASTA, JÄRJESTELYSTÄ JA TOIMINNASTA.
By K. Killinen. (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 1956. Pp. xiii, 307.) This excellent doctoral dissertation by a staff member of the Finnish War College reveals a professional as well as an academic interest in the problem of the proper relationship in a democratic state of its political and military arms. Commander Killinen raises such important and perplexing questions as: Should the direction of war in a democracy be divided or concentrated in a collective body or a single individual? Should the power of decision, if concentrated, be vested in the military or political branch? What should be the relation of a defense minister to the general staff? What is the legislature's proper role in war? How far should political factors affect military strategy and vice versa? What is the most effective way of arranging command in a coalition? How can democracies best organize for total war? The study is based on a careful examination of a well-balanced but inevitably selective list of the principal printed sources, English, French, and German. It is arranged chronologically, covering developments from about the French Revolution to the present. The First and Second World Wars provide the richest body of materials. Of the three alternative solutions of the central issue—the political (urged by Clausewitz), the dualistic (Moltke), and the military (Ludendorff)—Killinen approvingly shows that developments everywhere have led in the direction of the first, namely, political direction of war, concentrated in one person. The United States was the first democracy to attain this position; England and France reached it only after many crises. Among Killinen's other conclusions (which may be found in a five-page, English summary) are: in total war, the leader of a democratic state must have dictatorial powers, which, however, must be based on law and of limited duration; the intervention of a legislative body in military operations is dangerous; it is best to entrust military command to a single commander. This reviewer was particularly interested in Killinen's comments (regrettably sketchy) on the dualistic control so characteristic of the Finnish system. Its operation during the recent war has been the subject of much debate in recent assessments. Killinen does not deny there was tension, but he absolves Marshal Mannerheim of any deliberate design to extend military authority into the legitimate spheres of the president or the parliament.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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THE MYTH OF THE ALL-DESTRUCTIVE FURY OF THE THIRTY YEARS'

WAR. By Robert Ergang. (Pocono Pines, Pa.: Craftsmen. 1956. Pp. 40. \$1.00.) In this little brochure Professor Ergang expounds at greater length a thesis which he presented in his well-known textbook, *Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo*, namely, that the claim of the all-destructiveness of the Thirty Years' War, allegedly responsible for Germany's lagging behind Western Europe for the ensuing 150 years, is but a myth that lacks concrete evidence. This myth, we learn, was invented about one hundred years ago and further developed in the Bismarckian era (Treitschke, *et al.*), mainly to exculpate Germany for her relative backwardness in comparison with France and England. The myth is not based on reliable records but in the main on the fancies of Grimmelshausen's novel *Simplicissimus* of 1669. In fact, Ergang shows that a number of records indicate the contrary, namely, that the war left large areas of Germany intact and that life was soon carried on in a more or less prosperous fashion. There is no doubt that such a myth existed in Germany, at least prior to World War I. It is surprising that Ergang's material is taken almost exclusively from the period 1860 to 1914. No recent treatment is mentioned, at least not of German origin, and the author admits that not all German historians of the period named were unanimous with regard to this myth. One must regret that Ergang did not follow up more closely this opposing trend, although he briefly mentions the "revisionists." As far as this reviewer knows, the thesis here attacked has been discarded since the end of World War I, and it appears that our present-day views are closer to the facts than those in 1860-1914. This makes us speculate whether the present brochure is not an early product of Ergang's pen, now being published in order to back up the interpretation of his textbook.

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LUDWIG II. KÖNIG VON BAYERN. By Werner Richter. (4th ed.; Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1956. Pp. 413. DM 12.80.) Richter's study of the pathetic and, in part,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

tragic figure of Ludwig II is an altogether admirable piece of scholarship. Neither the historian who has occasion to deal with any aspect of Bavarian history during Ludwig's reign nor even the casual visitor to *Neuschwanstein* or *Herrenchiemsee* can fail to be impressed by the extraordinary difficulties in drawing a rational picture of a monarch who was, at best, an anachronism. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that the king, even before his mental disease progressed to the extent that he became a total recluse, left relatively few written records that reveal his thoughts on the major questions of his age. The historian's task is, then, largely one of reconstructing a living figure from the evidence of others. Since Ludwig II was one of the least conventional figures in nineteenth-century history, the evidence of those who served him is more than usually untrustworthy. These difficulties Richter has met with a high degree of success. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is to be found in the noteworthy contribution it makes to an understanding of the history of the *Reichsgründung* in the crucial years from 1866 to 1871, during which the Wittelsbach kingdom was probably the chief obstacle to the achievement of Bismarck's goal. The author manages to preserve an uncommonly fine balance in estimating the influence of the king's developing mental aberration on Bavarian policy during that period. The last third of the work, dealing with a period in which Bavaria no longer played an independent role, is of less importance but is still of much interest to historians of Germany. Throughout, the author's dispassionate treatment of the relationship between the king and Richard Wagner gives the work considerable value for students of that towering figure in the cultural history of the age. The author has worked exclusively from published materials. Of these he seems to have used practically all the important ones. Unfortunately, there is no index. The book, published originally in Switzerland in 1939, remained for some years little noticed, presumably because of the war. It has recently been enjoying a considerable vogue in Germany. An abbreviated translation was published in the United States in 1954 under the title *The Mad Monarch*. Scholars should be cautioned that the English version omits on numerous occasions precisely those sections which make the work of value to the serious historian.

GEORGE G. WINDELL, *University of Delaware*

LEBENSERINNERUNGEN: JUGEND, GENERALSTAB, WELTKRIEG. By *Wilhelm Groener*. Edited by *Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen*. [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Volume 41.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1957. Pp. 584. DM 32.) In recent years Reginald Phelps and Dorothea Groener-Geyer have presented the basic documents and narrative of William Groener's political career. This military autobiography, well fortified with journal and correspondence selections, gives evolutionary depth to his person and role in history. An observer at the "Dolchstoß" trial in 1925 remarked that only Groener's testimony reflected a sense of historical truth and perspective. Frank intelligence and analytical talent also characterize the autobiography and give it unusual historical value. The jacket points up an interesting feature of the Groener story which was not especially developed in the daughter's biography. It was the frustrating experience of World War I that transformed him from a naïve to a political soldier. Before Verdun he dreamed of total victory and a century of German dominance in Europe. By 1917 he foresaw defeat and thereafter urged that the soldier screen obediently for the diplomatic rescue. This Schlieffen disciple thus was gradually prepared for the realistic liquidation and reconstruction assignments which lay ahead. His new comprehension of political responsibility and flexibility was not only deeper wisdom but also realistic tactic. Probably he was one of that empire group that re-

garded democracy as a destiny, not an ideal. National continuity was somehow to be preserved and potential resurgence carefully cultivated. Military instincts were curbed, not expunged, by the political Groener. He experienced the superiority of Western resources and yet intensified his faith in the Schlieffen plan. He accepted the necessity of democratic reform but always preferred strong executive control to parliamentary negotiation. He hoped for a negotiated peace in the West but had no scruples about imposing German power in the East. These contradictions understood, we make this summary: He was one of the first German patriots to recognize the limitations of German power and to recommend more conciliatory and careful policy. He was perhaps the first ranking twentieth-century German general to learn that military strategy must serve, not control, the political calculation and that it must stress, not slight, economic organization. Groener was torn between heart and mind. He penetrated contemporary problems and discerned coming trends, but essentially he never completely departed from the competitive and national principles of Bismarckian Germany. This split marked his agony at Spa and in the disheartening years of Weimar weakness, confusion, and collapse.

HELMUT HAEUSSLER, *Wittenberg College*

PESTALOZZI'S "LEBENSKRISE" UND SEINE AUFFASSUNG VOM MENSCHEN.

By *Jaakko Toivio*. [The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Volume 91.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 347.) The world-wide reputation and influence of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the educational reformer, is still strong. This is evident from the publication in recent years of Ernst Simon's *Mishnat Pestalozzi* (1953) in Jerusalem and of Jaakko Toivio's monograph in Helsinki. Although there have been earlier Finnish works on the Swiss educator, e.g., by Gustaf F. Lönnbeck (1886) and Risto Kuosmanen (1927, 1939), this volume appears to be the first research study by a Finn in the German language (translated from the Finnish). The major part of Toivio's research was carried on, appropriately enough, in the Pestalozzianum at Zurich. At the time he wrote *Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (1797), Pestalozzi's morale was at a very low ebb. The *Mann des Herzens* and *Freund der Armen* had suffered failures in his school experiments. There was considerable misunderstanding of the ideas he had expressed in his earlier works. The fame resulting from his labors at Burgdorf and Yverdon, which was to establish him as an *Erzieher der Menschheit*, was still to come. Toivio cites the more recent appraisals by researchers that Pestalozzi was not only a schoolman and educational thinker, but also a *bedeutender Denker auf den Gebieten der Anthropologie, Sozialpolitik, Moralphilosophie, Religion und Staatslehre*. The results of some of the studies reviewed in his lengthy introduction would seem to support this view, but it is doubtful at this time whether the specialists in fields other than education would recognize the significance of Pestalozzi for their disciplines. In this monograph, Toivio seeks to analyze Pestalozzi's philosophic system, if such it may be called, especially the relationship of the crisis in his own life to his conception of man. To do this, he examines with care the various writings of the reformer—his letters, pedagogical books, and meditative and philosophical works. He devotes nearly one hundred pages to a study of the ideas of the *Nachforschungen*, in which Pestalozzi's peculiar personality is intimately reflected. The author's point of view is that Pestalozzi's *Lebenskrise* was a bridge between his earlier and later ideals, so that he became more and more penetrating in his idea of humanity. In his quest for a deeper understanding of man, Pestalozzi came into contact with British thought, particularly with that of Shaftesbury, and with such German philosophers as Nicolovius, Fichte, and Kant. The mirror of his maturity as a

thinker during this apparently dark period of his life was, according to Toivio, his *Nachforschungen*. The ideas in this work "determine Pestalozzi's later life and the direction of his thought." In fact, Toivio concludes that the *Nachforschungen* period was a necessary preliminary that prepared Pestalozzi for his later activity as a practical pedagogue. This monograph interweaves historical data with philosophical ideas and copious citations from Pestalozzi's writings with frequent references to other research studies. If there are no startlingly new insights or conclusions and no flashes of brilliant style, there is at least the assurance of a workmanlike, competent analysis in an area where research is welcome.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, *New York University*

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

EPISTOLARIO DI GUSTAVO MODENA. Edited by *Terenzio Grandi*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Serie 2: Fonti, Volume XXXVII.] (Rome: Vittoriano. 1955. Pp. xv, 467.) Although the Risorgimento abounded in colorful figures, very few can have been so romantic and energetic as the actor-revolutionary Gustavo Modena. Enormously popular for over thirty years and regarded by Italians as the greatest actor of his time, his range of successful roles embraced Alfieri's Saul as well as the Oedipus Rex of Sophocles, which he had the honor to play in the theater built by Palladio at Vicenza for this very drama three hundred years before. As a conspirator and revolutionary, Modena was a firm Mazzinian republican, an anticlerical, and no friend of Cavourian solutions to the Italian question. Physically indefatigable and unshakably doctrinaire though he was, Modena also possessed a very keen mind and a charming literary style, and it is these qualities that lend special interest to the 484 letters here published. There is much in this complete collection to extend our understanding of Mazzinian ideology, political maneuvers, and rival personalities, but it may well be of greater importance as a portrait of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

one man's mind in the face of crisis. Whether or not they are stylistically on a par with the works of Boccaccio and Tasso, as maintained by Modena's fervent admirers, these letters make excellent reading—even apart from the controversies so alive in them and indeed still smoldering between Mazzinians and Cavourians.

GEORGE T. ROMANI, *Northwestern University*

LE ELEZIONI DEL 1874 E L'OPPOSIZIONE MERIDIONALE. By *Giuliano Procacci*. [Studi e ricerche storiche.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1956. Pp. 137. L. 900.) This analysis of the parliamentary elections of 1874 and the southern Left's opposition to Minghetti's Rightist government is a valuable contribution to a growing number of studies illuminating the emergence of sectionalism, the "Southern Problem," and political regroupings during Italy's immediate postunification era. It marks a good beginning of a series of monographic historical studies sponsored by the Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli, the Marxist-oriented research center recently established in Milan. Procacci has based his study on a careful examination of editorial opinion in southern and northern newspapers and periodicals during the campaign, as well as on many secondary sources. He is careful not to push his conclusions too far and cautions the reader to keep in mind the geographical and temporal limits of his investigation. The style of this topically organized and densely footnoted book is somewhat plodding, but specialists will find it worth their reading. Procacci focuses his attention on a hitherto neglected campaign that in some ways forecast the 1876 "political revolution" which inaugurated two decades of Leftist rule. In 1874, the Right was reinstated by a narrow margin, but in the south the Left was easily victorious. Campaign issues revolved around fiscal problems—budget balancing, regional tax burdens, appropriations for railway and port development—and the political question of the south's share in effective power. By 1874 the southern Left was undergoing internal transformation. The radical, "historic" Left was in decline, while a moderately conservative "Young Left" was emerging. In Sicily especially, the Leftists defended property rights against "brigands." Seldom during the campaign did southern politicians probe deeply into their region's social problems or recognize the importance of broadening the franchise. In the north, however, the Left tended to be more radical; it was the northern wing that pushed reform legislation during the next decades.

CHARLES F. DELZELL, *Vanderbilt University*

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Sesta Serie: 1918-1922, Volume I (4 NOVEMBRE 1918-17 GENNAIO 1919). (Rome: Ministero Degli Affari Esteri. 1956. Pp. lxxvii, 526.) The 885 documents in this volume, the ninth to appear in the great collection of Italian documents, add many new details concerning Italian diplomacy in this confused period but do not fundamentally alter existing conclusions about the broad lines of Italian policy. The editor, Professor Rodolfo Mosca of the University of Florence, has used, in addition to the foreign office files, the Orlando papers, the papers of General Di Robilant, the Italian military representative at the Inter-allied Council at Versailles, and the papers of Colosimo, the colonial minister. The documents from the confidential colonial ministry publication, *L'Africa Italiana*, Volume II, are important. Friction with wartime allies mounted as Italy sought to safeguard former pledges, to protect her Mediterranean position, and to enlarge her empire. French activity in Ethiopia, French support for Yugoslav aspirations, and thorny questions concerning occupation forces in the Balkans, especially at Fiume, placed a serious strain on Franco-Italian relations. Already pressures were being exerted by the inhabitants of Fiume for union with Italy. Yugoslav and Greek am-

bitions and developments in Russia caused grave concern in Rome. Anglo-Italian relations were far from cordial. Hopes were high for the support of Woodrow Wilson. Outside the Adriatic region, Italy's gaze was focused on Africa and on the Turkish Empire. On December 2, 1918, Italy presented to England demands for about 727,500 additional inhabitants and 909,000 square kilometers of African territory, including French and British Somaliland, the Djibuti-Addis Ababa railroad, Jubaland, the Farsan islands, a favorable eastern frontier for Libya that would include the oasis of Giarabub, and concessions on the southwestern frontier to facilitate communications between Ghadames, Ghat, and Tummoo. Italy should have an exclusive sphere of influence in Ethiopia. These demands were linked with the assumption that the agreements of August, 1917, with regard to the Turkish Empire, which France and England had now declared invalid because of lack of Russian approval, would be executed.

WILLIAM C. ASKEW, *Colgate University*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley¹

MIEDZYNARODOWE ZNACZENIE POLSKICH WALK NARODOWO-WYZWOLEŃCZYCH XVIII I XIX W. [International significance of Polish struggles for national liberation in the 18th and 19th centuries.] By Henryk Jabłoński. (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences. 1955. Pp. 84. Zł. 2.15.) This is the enlarged Polish version of Professor Jabłoński's contribution to the volume *La Pologne au X^e Congrès international des sciences historiques . . .* (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [July, 1956], 972). He tries to show that the character of the Polish struggle for independence was basically changed in the years 1846-1848 when the national movement came under the control of revolutionary elements of the extreme left. His interpretation is particularly questionable when he contrasts the "perfidy" of the papacy and the Western powers with the genuine sympathy of the Communists and, when following Lenin's opinion, he stresses the significance of the Polish question for the international revolutionary movement "as long as the popular masses of Russia were still deeply asleep." In the Polish pamphlet, the story is preceded by one of the usual attacks against "bourgeois" historians who expressed different opinions, and is followed by a tribute to Lenin and "the Great Socialist October Revolution," which "opened the way to the freedom of the Polish nation." Added are two valuable illustrations: contemporary pictures of manifestations in favor of Poland in 1831 and 1848 and a picture of Marx with his daughter Jenny, who wears a cross of Polish insurrectionists of 1864.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

LA SLOVAQUIE DANS LE DRAME DE L'EUROPE (HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE 1918 A 1950). By *Joseph A. Mikus*. Preface by *Paul Lesourd*. (Paris: Les Isles d'Or. 1955. Pp. 475. 1,350 fr.) Mikus presents what is simultaneously a history of Slovakia since 1918, a brief for the mistakes of certain Slovak politicians, namely Monseigneur and President Tiso, a condemnation of the errors of the Czech politicians, namely Beneš, a belief in the national *apartheid* of Slovaks, and a statement of his hope for the future—an East Central European confederation of equal states to be preceded, we suppose, by some miraculous or man-made escape from the woes of Soviet domination and totalitarianism. The history of Czechoslovakia, as recounted here, begins with a violation of the agreements between the two nationalities for a union of coequal states, the establishment of a unitary state, the omission of the dash in the spelling of the name of the country, the “invasion” of Slovakia by Czech teachers and functionaries, the latter remunerated with a so-called “colonial supplement” for their duties in underdeveloped Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the “betrayal” of the cause of federalism by Slovakian Protestants having a greater cultural kinship with the Czechs than with their own clerical Catholics, and the attachment of Slovakian Jews to the Czech unitary “reason of State” in order to maintain their “domination” of the Slovakian economy. Then came Munich. The Czechoslovak state was destroyed, and, Mikus will have us believe, Slovakia emerged as an independent republic. This was quickly followed by the application of *numerus clausus* laws to Jews in industry and the professions and the adoption of a program based on the Nuremberg laws of Germany. Finally, the Slovak government entered into agreement with the Third Reich for the deportation and “recolonization” of Slovak Jews. Instead of 17,000–18,000 Jews deported, as Mikus believes, it seems likely that 68,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia by the end of 1942 and nearly all of them exterminated in German concentration camps (cf. Jozef Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia* [New York, 1955], p. 184). In 1945 a unitary Czechoslovak state emerged again. The satellite state of Slovakia had discriminated against and persecuted Protestants, Jews, Communists, and democrats and had pursued a policy of population expulsion. The postwar Czechoslovak political alliance of democrats and Communists pursued outwardly similar methods: the expulsion of Germans from the Sudetenland, the settlement of Slovak agricultural laborers in the Sudetenland, and the forced transfer of tens of thousands of Magyars from Slovakia to Bohemia. In 1948 the Communists came to power and extended the policy of discrimination to hitherto cooperative Protestants, to socially suspect teachers, and finally to Communists suspected of independence of thought. Czechoslovakia became both a political and economic satellite of the Soviet Union. The work reviewed is tendentious, but the author ably defends and elaborates a point of view that a seeker after truth must reexamine. For a more sympathetic Slovak view of the Czechs and their leaders one should turn to Jozef Lettrich's work on Slovakia.

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH, *Rutgers University*

DIE MITTELMÄCHTE UND DIE UKRAINE, 1918. By *Hans Beyer*. [Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Beiheft 2.] (Munich: Isar Verlag. 1956. Pp. 58.) This book is an analysis of the German and Austrian intervention in the Russian Ukraine in the last two years of World War I. The author's evidence consists largely of printed materials, including works in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian, with the addition of some hitherto unpublished documents from the Austrian State Archive. His conclusion is that the upheavals that shook the Ukraine in 1918 and eventually led to its conquest by the Communists were not caused by the failure of the Central Powers to adhere to the pro-Ukrainian policy enunciated by them at Brest-Litovsk (as

charged by some Ukrainian historians) but to the inadequate development of political consciousness in the Ukraine itself. The Germans, with the Austrians unwillingly following behind, pursued an active Ukrainian policy on the assumption that the Ukraine was ready for statehood, whereas in fact it was far from it. In 1917-1918 the Ukraine was in the throes of a vast social revolution; what it needed above all was strong, efficient administration. The fiasco of the policies of the Central Powers, in the author's opinion, was therefore largely due to an overestimation of the Ukrainian national movement on the part of the German command.

RICHARD PIPES, *Paris, France*

FIGHTING WARSAW: THE STORY OF THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE, 1939-1945. By *Stefan Korboński*. Translated from the original Polish by *F. B. Czarnomski*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. vi, 495. \$6.75.) The purpose of this book is "to fill the gap" between the well-known military actions and the relatively unknown political and civil organization of the Polish underground movement during World War II. In these unofficial memoirs, Stefan Korboński, a spokesman of the Polish Peasant party and last chief of the Polish resistance movement, has traced in considerable detail his personal experiences from 1939 to 1945. He deals with the establishment and activities of the underground courts of justice, which passed sentences on both collaborators and occupation officials. He devotes several chapters to radio contact with London and depicts its hazards vividly, though perhaps at greater length than necessary. He portrays ambitious men and selfless men, heroes and cowards. Admirably presented is the transition from German to Russian occupation of Poland. Korboński makes clear two vital points. The first "is the role which the magic word 'London' played in the Polish Underground Movement." He shows again and again how people risked their lives to get information from the Western world via London, how they trusted Western statesmen, and how, ironically, they were disappointed at the end by being abandoned to Russian domination. The second vital point is Korboński's frank admission of the political disunity among Polish officials both at home and abroad. Although the author is somewhat reserved in his appraisal, there is little doubt that this disunity (much of which was a product of the prewar cleavage within Polish political life) benefited Poland's enemies. There were many political spokesmen who faced the future with open eyes; there were also those who lived on the glories of the past, dreaming about Poland's former territorial greatness. Although he professes to belong to the former, Korboński reveals that on one occasion (p. 315) he was swayed by the ideas of the latter group. An index would have increased the value of this interesting volume.

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN, *Portland State College, Oregon*

JUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1948-1956: AN ANALYSIS WITH DOCUMENTS. By *R. Barry Farrell*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 220. \$5.00.) The first part of this short book deals with the "Analysis of Yugoslav-Soviet Relations 1948-1956" (pp. 1-64), and the remaining portion consists of "Documents of Yugoslav-Soviet Relations 1948-1956" (pp. 67-211), "Notes," and "Index" (pp. 215-220). The author explains how the break between Tito and Stalin occurred in 1948 and describes the relations between the two countries from that juncture until 1956. But even before the break, "while making profound obeisance toward Moscow . . . Marshall Tito at the same time displayed a precocious independence from Stalin." Farrell summarizes the notes exchanged between the Central Committee of the two Communist parties, with their charges and countercharges, and explains how Tito challenged "the Stalinist theories of Soviet satellite control then

in vogue in Moscow" and sought Western friendship. The break between Tito and Stalin precipitated a number of significant changes in Yugoslavia's political and economic life, while Yugoslav theoreticians were compelled to go back to the original writings of Marx in order to show point by point that the Russians were "heretics" and the Yugoslavs "true believers." Finally, changes that occurred in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death and certain other developments led to "normalization" in Yugoslav-Soviet relations since 1954. As a result there was "some cooling of Yugoslav-American relations" despite assurances from Belgrade that reconciliation with the East did not affect Yugoslavia's friendship for the West. In conclusion, Farrell writes that Yugoslavia's policy since 1948 exhibits "extraordinary skill" and that Tito's ability to maintain friendly relations with both East and West may serve as an example for other Eastern European Communist countries. Since 1948 Tito "showed himself to be as skillful, courageous, and realistic a leader as the Balkans may ever see." This fairly well typifies the author's appraisal of Yugoslav foreign policy. He credits Tito almost exclusively with Yugoslavia's apparent success, practically ignores some of his able and influential advisers, and completely neglects to bring out the geographical, political, and psychological advantages enjoyed by Yugoslavia as compared with other Communist states under Soviet control. Farrell's book is obviously intended for those who are not familiar with developments in Yugoslavia since 1948; the experts will find little that is new. Furthermore, most of the documents here presented are already available in English, though strewn through a number of journals and brochures. The book, however, may be profitably used in the classroom.

WAYNE S. VUCINICH, *Stanford University*

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SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

DAS SOWJETISCHE REGIERUNGSSYSTEM: DIE GRUNDLAGEN DER MACHT IN DER SOWJETUNION. LEITFADEN und QUELLENBUCH. By W. Grottian. [Die Wissenschaft von der Politik, Band 2.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1956. Pp. x, 175; x, 170. DM 13.80.) The guide (text and sources) to the Soviet system published under the auspices of the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik by Professor Walter Grottian, lecturer on Soviet economy at the Institute for the Study of Eastern Europe of the Free University at Berlin, fills a gap in German political literature where the need for such a text for teaching purposes has long been acutely felt. Substantially, but in an extremely condensed form, the book covers the same ground as Wiktor Sukiennicki's *Ewolucja ustroju Związku Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich* (The Development of the Constitution of the Soviet Union in the Light of the Official Publications of the Soviet Government, Wilno, 1938); W. W. Kulski's *The Soviet Regime* (1954); John N. Hazard's *The Soviet System of Government* (1957); or the forthcoming survey, *Russian Political Institutions* by Derek J. R. Scott. The first, general, part of the book deals with the influence of Marxist doctrine on the organization of party and state; it includes a discussion of the relationship of the Marxist political, economic, and social goals to the idea of world revolution and explains the policy of compromise. The second part discusses the Communist party and instruments of leadership outside the party, such as the state police, the armed forces, and planned economy; for lack of space other instruments of power guaranteeing the rule of the party are only briefly mentioned. Authoritative American works (by Merle Fainsod, Julian Towster, and Alexander Vucinich) are frequently cited. The source book contains materials of the years 1902 to 1956, but in order to illustrate Lenin's and Stalin's theories, its bulk consists of utterances made by these two leaders of Bolshevism between 1919 and 1939. The value of the publication as a reference tool is seriously impaired by the lack of an index.

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN, *Library of Congress*

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By Matthew Spinka. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 179. \$3.25.) Professor Spinka, whose earlier book, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, told of the Russian Church during the revolutionary period, in this volume carries the story to present times. His method is to discuss the actions of Patriarchs Tikhon, Sergii, and Alexii and to give his opinion as to the soundness of their decisions. Patriarch Tikhon, according to the author, was the savior of the Church when it was on the verge of catastrophe. He, like many of the higher clergy, had strongly opposed the Soviet regime and in 1923 was under arrest. With his trial and probable execution imminent, control of the Church was

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

held by a self-appointed group of priests known as the Living Church. At this point, Tikhon realized that the Church could survive only if it accepted the existence of the Communist state. Consequently, he renounced opposition to it and in his final "Testament" called on the faithful to accept the government as that of the workers and peasants. Spinka regards this as a wise move by which Tikhon hoped to secure autonomy for the Church. On the other hand, he views the compromises made by Tikhon's successors as unwarranted surrenders to the atheistic government. While he recognizes the sincerity and devotion of Sergii, he feels that the latter's willingness to profess full loyalty to the regime and to gloss over its ruthlessness toward the Church went too far. Moreover, Sergii's punishment of pro-German prelates in 1941 and his fulsome praise of Stalin are distasteful to the author. As for Alexii, the current Patriarch, Spinka believes that he has sold his birthright. Apparently hoping to replace the Patriarch of Constantinople as leader of the Orthodox world, he sought Soviet support by making himself a tool of Soviet diplomacy, condemning the Vatican for political intrigue, and denouncing American intervention in Korea, while ardently supporting the Soviet peace campaign. Spinka has presented an account of this period that accords with the known facts. His treatment, however, is occasionally lacking in objectivity, as shown by his biting sarcasm concerning certain Soviet actions. Moreover, he accepts without question some apparently biased statements by Metropolitan Evlogii of Paris and other anti-Soviet Russians. This is regrettable, for the author's conclusions are based on a solid foundation of fact and are presented with much interesting and pertinent detail.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

A HISTORY OF TURKEY FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC. By M. Philips Price. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 224. \$4.50.) The masters of modern Turkey have done well as propagandists. They have sold to the West the idea that the Turks are the only trusted guardians of everything Western in the Middle East. In this the Turks have been well served. But, as this work by an old-time journalist and a Laborite member of Parliament illustrates, they have not been so well served by historical scholarship. The former correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* warns his readers by stating that his "book lays no claim to sift in every detail all aspects of Turkish history." What it does, he adds, is "to give a picture of the growth of the Turkish people, the institutions they have created and the ideas that have inspired them through the centuries." Even with this disclaimer his is a large order, and its fulfillment would gratify any historian. Forthwith he issues another warning: his "book is limited to Turkey and the history of her resistance to Russian expansion." Now his plan becomes clear: he is to show how aggressive Russia, in her messianic role, has harried the Turks for centuries and how the latter, as the guardians of law and order in the Middle East, have resisted her with or without aid from the West. Such views, partly valid when expounded with care and caution, are distorted in the introduction, wherein the author holds Russia responsible for the First World War. The book's three parts deal with the Ottoman period, the war years of 1914-1923, and the republican period. In his narrative, Price betrays amazing unfamiliarity with some cardinal facts and offers some strange ideas as facts. For instance, the assertions that the Turks "were Westerners from the start" and that "their society had been democratic" but was corrupted by Arabic and Byzantine influence are hardly convincing. The statement that "the Turks had always thought that the affairs of this world and those of the next should not be too closely tied to one another" is a fiction. His criticism of the working of capitulations and his references to the millets leave the impression that he fails to understand the millet institution as a useful administrative device for the sultans. His belief that the implementation of reforms was always hindered by the powers and that the non-Turks did not want reforms cannot

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

be supported by known and accepted evidence. Some of these ideas, he states, he found in Leon Cahun's *Introduction à l'Histoire d'Asie* (1896), though he does not reveal his other sources. Some forty years ago the author, as a newspaper correspondent, championed the cause of the underprivileged and the downtrodden. Today he seems to have shed his liberalism and has become the spokesman of the strong and the powerful, scornful of those who, in their "hankering" for freedom, have failed. Perhaps therein is the explanation of his disdainful references to the religious and racial minorities of the Ottoman Empire, which he unjustifiably brands as "disaffected" elements and "fifth columnists." This book might have been issued as official propaganda rather than as history.

A. O. SARKISSIAN, *Library of Congress*

COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Walter Z. Laqueur*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. Pp. xi, 362. \$6.50.) President Eisenhower's request of the Congress for authority to use American armed forces, if necessary, and vast economic resources to combat Soviet incursion into the Middle East has sharpened attention upon political developments in the Arab world. Ever since the consummation of the Egyptian arms deal with the Soviet bloc, the Western nations have been showered with journalistic pieces upon the penetration of Communism into the Middle East. The propaganda has varied from the direst forebodings of the social scientists who concentrate upon the evils and inequities of the social and economic structure of the Middle East to the ostrich-like rhetoric of the orientalist who see in Islam and its hold upon society a fortress against Marxian godlessness. In contrast to such vagaries, Laqueur presents in this volume, written in 1955, a wealth of facts, details, political groups, names of individuals and parties, ideas, and conclusions with regard to the progress of Communism and Soviet ideological and diplomatic forays, against a backdrop of nationalism in the several countries of the Middle East. In an opening general chapter, the author describes the role of students, explains "military socialism," discusses the economic systems, points out the repeated ineffectiveness of parliamentary regimes, and defines the brand of nationalism that has evolved in the Middle East. Nationalism is portrayed as being more authoritative and less liberal, democratic, or humanitarian than the Western forms. Xenophobia, chauvinism, and anti-imperialism are credited with dominating the urban intellectuals who control the nationalist movements of the post-World War II era. The old wealthy families are too cosmopolitan to be effectual. Following this piercing prologue, individual chapters set forth the detailed stories in Egypt, the Sudan, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Turkey. Final chapters include accounts of Communist activities among the numerous Middle Eastern minorities, such as Copts, Kurds, and Armenians, and a delineation of the recent zeal of Russian diplomacy in cultivating Middle Eastern governments at the expense of sympathy for native Communist movements. A most interesting section reviews the development, growth, and aims of the Moslem Brotherhood and suggests the possible type of "Partners for a National Front" to be fostered by the Communist leaders. In general, Laqueur carries through his book and into his conclusions a pessimistic outlook for the West. He contends that time is on the Communist side. To avert the rapid drift to Communism, he feels that a social and economic regeneration is imperative but that adequate manpower for initiating and carrying through a quick transition is lacking. Laqueur's judgments certainly are debatable, but without question, his study has opened a vista into a sea hitherto almost uncharted. The information exhibited is enormous and covers a wide range. Undigested material and insufficient organization are its greatest weaknesses.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

*Hilary Conroy*¹

SELECT DOCUMENTS ON JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY, 1853-1868. Translated and edited by *W. G. Beasley*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. xii, 359. \$8.00.) This work makes an important and scholarly contribution to our understanding of Japanese history. The years from 1853 to 1868 were critical years for Japan, when the country was faced with the insistent demands of Western nations for trade and concessions at the same time the internal political structure was proving completely inadequate to meet the foreign challenge. Professor Beasley has divided his book into two parts. A lengthy introduction provides a detailed analysis of the context in which the foreign policy debate was fought and links the foreign issue with the intricate power struggle within Japan. The second portion consists of translations of seventy-seven documents arranged in eight sections, each grouped around a significant event in Japan's foreign relations, with explanatory introductions. Thus the several introductory passages combine to form a complete survey of the political history of Japan from 1853 to 1868. The documents have been selected with care and translated with exacting accuracy. Perhaps their greatest value is their power to bring to life the men and issues which agitated the Japanese political world during the pre-Restoration era. Beasley's translation manages to convey a sense of plausibility for the hectic actions of the Japanese officials of this period, in marked contrast to the usual picture of incompetence and ignorance. He has chosen to suppress notes dealing with problems of translation, and while this makes for greater readability, the serious historian may wish to know more of these problems. One wonders if the translations may not be overly smooth and the Japanese officials of the time not so sophisticated as their translated words seem to indicate. Beasley has made a number of acute observations in the course of his work. Of considerable interest is his conclusion that, despite the great heat generated by the disagreements over foreign policy, the responsible figures in Japanese government were in fundamental agreement over the need to strengthen their country against the West. The new foreign policies of the government after 1868 "represented not a change of heart but an avowal of ideas that had already taken shape." The only regret of this reviewer is that Beasley has not extended his study to the point where the relationship of pre-Restoration to post-Restoration foreign policy can be made apparent.

JOHN W. HALL, *University of Michigan*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 6325.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956. Pp. 1,044. \$4.50.) This volume adds to the documentation previously published in *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941* the memoranda and correspondence that reveal the conflicts of opinion that entered into the decision-making process in Washington. In presenting the dilemmas and uncertainties on both sides of the Pacific, the mutual suspicions of insincerity, and the imperfect qualities of each tactic pursued, it gives a sense of diplomacy in the making as contrasted with the impression of inescapable disaster left by the earlier wartime publication. Some new bits of evidence cast further misgivings about the conspiracy theory of Japan's diplomatic history as accepted by the International Military Tribunal

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

for the Far East. How could Hirota, Hiranuma, Muto, and even Tojo have been adjudged as they were? In 1941 Tojo was characterized as one of the initiators of the project for negotiations with the United States and as a "taciturn, clear-thinking, quick-deciding executive with ideas leaning towards the conservative, sound side." A thousand pages cannot supply satisfying answers to enduring questions. Would it have been worth while for the emperor to try his personal hand at negotiations, for Prince Konoye to meet with President Roosevelt, or for Secretary Hull to have proceeded with the *modus vivendi* of November 25? How could we have been caught at Pearl Harbor in the face of repeated warnings? Even at this late date some documents will cause the lifting of a quizzical eyebrow (see particularly pages 17, 249, 531, 673, and 713). This volume is a valedictory in the story of United States-Japanese relations, but it is also intended to supply chronological background for the forthcoming special issues of the *Foreign Relations* on China, 1942-1949. In this light, references to Chiang's government and Russia and Communism in the Far East are of unusual interest. With regard to Communism in the Far East, neither Hirota, Nomura, Matsuoka, Tojo, nor any other Japanese leader had any illusions about its dangers and its benefits from a Pacific war. This volume presents some anti-Russian and anti-Communist views that were omitted from the *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941*, owing to wartime susceptibilities. In the face of the complex diplomatic environment and the combustible domestic political situation, it is believed that the editors of the *Foreign Relations* volumes—now as then—performed their tasks with complete honesty and extraordinary skill.

CLAUDE BUSS, *Stanford University*

FOREIGN TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA: AN HISTORICAL AND INTEGRATED ANALYSIS THROUGH 1948. By Yu-Kwei Cheng. [Published under the auspices of the American University and the China International Foundation.] (Washington, D. C.: University Press of Washington, D. C. 1956. Pp. xi, 278. \$7.00.) During the last twenty-five years, several outstanding works have been published in the field of China's foreign trade, foreign investments, land utilization, money and finance, and industrialization. This reviewer finds Yu-Kwei Cheng's book unique in that it gives an integrated analysis, a correlated interpretation of reliable data, and a comprehensive picture of the essential elements of modern Chinese economy. He devotes only twenty-six pages to the first seventy-five years of China's trade and industry; he has not achieved his purpose of giving even treatment to the entire period. The major part of the book, however, is scholarly and objective. It contributes much to the general reader and to the specialist. Cheng begins his serious analysis of China's "industrial growth and foreign trade, 1913-1936" in chapter iii, and much space is given to the obstacles preventing genuine Chinese industrialization. He deals with the effects of the tariff and the fluctuation of silver prices and, within a short space, presents a clear analysis of tariff levels and their relation to revenue raising, protective effects on industry, and restriction of trade. The author attempts to prove the fallacy of regarding silver movement and remittances of overseas Chinese as factors counterbalancing import excess. His arguments are no more conclusive than those set forth by other economists; he stresses well, however, the importance of foreign investments and their relation to import balances, the real picture of which will be revealed only when financial accounts of foreign trading companies can be examined. Based upon analyses of increases in commodity prices, government expenditures, and note issues, his study objectively exposes the basic factors behind the tragic failures of the large undertakings of the National Government of China. A good contrast between the economy

of free China and that of occupied China, including an index of import and export prices, is a distinct contribution. In chapter viii the author discusses the causes of postwar inflation, the debacle of monetary changes, and the problems of foreign trade; but there is no mention of problems of privileged corporations owned by "influential" Chinese, feverish attempts of foreign firms to restore their prewar easy-profit-making positions, the unusual amount of United States currency in Chinese commercial centers, or the recent testimony on "China and Gold" given by Arthur N. Young before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, July 13, 1956. The author might have included both preoccupation and postoccupation years in his discussion of the Manchurian economy; there are other examples of his undue emphasis on the war and postwar years. As a whole, this book is a solid piece of work that has lasting value.

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

INDIA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE FAR EASTERN AND PACIFIC COUNTRIES IN THE PRESENT CENTURY. By B. N. Ganguli. [Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Bombay: Orient Longmans; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. 348. \$3.50.) Professor Ganguli's painstaking analysis covers a great area and over a quarter of the world's population, in the first half of the present century, with its extraordinary upheavals and changes in economic relationships. He deals with India's trade with Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, and has a valuable section on "Other Aspects of India's Economic Relations," dealing chiefly with Indian investments and Indian immigration to Malaya, Burma, and Ceylon. The tone is scholarly and dispassionate throughout, although the Western reader might wonder why investments by Great Britain constitute "colonialism" while investments in nearby countries by India are not so described. On the other hand, the reasons for resentment by Burmans of the activities of Chettyars from South India are fairly stated, and the reactions of nationalism in nearby countries to Indian immigration and investment are treated with considerable sympathy and understanding. At a time when India's relations with Pakistan are such as to cause pain to friends of both countries, it is refreshing to find a fair and objective discussion of their economic relations. Ganguli gives a balanced discussion of the benefits to Indian and Southeast Asian economy of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century economic development caused by British investors. He points out reasons for doubting the desirability, from the Indian standpoint, of a continuation of commonwealth preference and other restrictive measures, when India's interests increasingly require multilateral trading relationships. The book was apparently a long time in the press, as most statistical tables end in 1952-1953 and there is no mention of the division of Indochina into Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Australians and New Zealanders might object to having their economies called "dependent." It takes a careful reading to find that, in the earlier sections, "prewar" means pre-1914. Western readers may wonder why "lakhs" and "crores" are used without definition, along with "millions." Students of the economies of India and its neighbors and of economic trends in the past half century will find this a valuable book.

J. RUSSELL ANDRUS, *Washington, D. C.*

CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA AND INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1945-1955. By Allan B. Cole. With the assistance of Peter W. Lande, Dennis H. Kux, W. Bryce Harland, and Larry H. Wendell. [Pub-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lished under the auspices of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and the Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xxix, 265. \$5.00.) The more than one hundred documents here reproduced, many of them difficult of access and some previously unavailable, include speeches, formal policy statements, joint communiqués, international treaties and agreements, reform proposals, and constitutions. The items are grouped in five chronological "phases," and the latter are organized topically by country of origin. The editor contributes a cautiously phrased general introduction and more perceptive, shorter summaries preceding each of the five parts. Three appendixes set forth a chronology of events, statistics on costs to France and to the United States, and a selected reading list. The purpose is to provide the essential documentation for an informed and objective assessment of historical developments within Vietnam since 1945. The documents selected illustrate many sides of the controversy, and they contribute much that is useful. Particularly valuable are the texts of formal agreements arrived at from 1946 to the Geneva settlement of 1954. The problems and policies of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime are adequately presented. Unfortunately, however, the general atmosphere of the book reflects the stuffiness of official policy pronouncements, which sometimes conceal quite as much as they reveal. For example, the failure of United States policy is nowhere adequately explained. No document covers the debacle of Dien Bien Phu. The initial determination of France not to permit any outside interference or to sacrifice its position as a world power is only hinted at. Some statement could have been included to indicate the almost complete deadlock which long prevailed within the State Department itself between elements reflecting America's desire not to jeopardize French cooperation in Europe and those concerned more directly with the affairs of Eastern Asia. Excerpts from French Chamber debates could have demonstrated the French Communist party's refusal until 1948 to support Ho Chi Minh's demand for independence as long as the party had some chance of gaining control of the Paris government. Ho's concern for avoiding the use of Chinese troops to oust the French could have been illustrated. The documentation is simply incomplete. The editors concede that readers seeking the full story had better read Ellen Hammer's book. Two revealing documents can be cited. One reproduces excerpts from a *Handbook for Chinese Political Workers Going to Vietnam*, which establish the fact that Chinese "volunteers" were aiding Viet Minh in 1952 and were being carefully enjoined not to antagonize the local people. The other is the allegation by Vice-President Nixon in December, 1953, that the Communist rebellions in Vietnam and Malaya (which began in 1947 and 1948 respectively) would never have occurred if China had not gone Communist (in 1949), a *non sequitur* which adds another dimension to the problem of American diplomacy within the area.

JOHN F. CADY, *Ohio University*

CALENDAR OF PHILIPPINE DOCUMENTS IN THE AYER COLLECTION OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY. Edited by *Paul S. Lietz*. (Chicago: Newberry Library. 1956. Pp. xvi, 259. \$6.00.) Acquired in the 1890's from the library of the Compañía General de Tabacos, the Ayer Collection (embracing some eight thousand pages of manuscript ranging from 1558 to 1903) has now been successfully calendared by Professor Lietz for the Philippine Study Program. Of the 370 items calendared, 203 belong to the eighteenth century. Although partially exploited by James A. Robertson and Emma Blair for their *Philippine Islands, 1493-1803* (55 vols.; Cleveland, 1903-1909), this important group of originals—copies of memoranda, diaries, treatises, civil and ecclesiastical correspondence—has been little used. This skillfully prepared check list makes readily available detailed information about each item and

should turn many new footsteps toward the Newberry Library. The handbook is beautifully printed at an unnecessarily high cost.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

- A BAKER'S DOZEN: THIRTEEN UNUSUAL AMERICANS. By Russel B. Nye. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 300. \$5.00.) This book deals with thirteen men who played minor roles in the great drama of American history. Two of them were touched by the taint of treason: John Fries, who in 1799

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

led a revolt of Pennsylvania German farmers against the new tax laws enacted by Congress, and Harman Blennerhassett, the pathetic dupe of Aaron Burr. Two more are John Ledyard, who failed in his effort to discover a Northwest Passage, and Edward Bonney, a small-town Iowa lawyer who for a time turned detective in order to bring a gang of robbers and murderers to justice. There are a couple of villains: Simon Girty, the "white savage" renegade, and John A. Murrell, thief and ruthless killer on the Southern frontier. Others are John Humphrey Noyes and James Strang, who both sought to establish a limited Utopia, at least slightly reminiscent of Brook Farm or New Harmony; Clement C. Vallandigham, Copperhead extraordinary and bitter critic of Lincoln; Jacob Coxey, who led his army of unemployed to Washington; Nat Turner, head of a brief but bloody rebellion, repercussions of which rocked the South for months; and Elijah Lovejoy, editor and abolitionist, whose work and martyrdom had far-reaching influences. Finally, there is Phineas Quinby, the faith healer, whose principles were later taught by Mary Baker Eddy until she had formulated her own philosophy of health. This is a useful and informative volume, beautifully written by a master craftsman who some years ago was awarded the Pulitzer prize for biography. While there are no footnotes, a four-page note on sources indicates the materials used by the author and sources of additional information. Adequate biographies of some of the characters in this book have been published, but a number of the others are hardly important enough to warrant such extensive treatment. All, however, are of sufficient significance to make students of American history eager to learn more about them than can be found in any encyclopedia. It is to be hoped that other books of this type may be produced. It is a distinct contribution to our history; we need more like it.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

A REPORT ON WORLD POPULATION MIGRATIONS AS RELATED TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. (Washington, D. C.: George Washington University. 1956. Pp. v, 448. No charge.) This report is essentially two bibliographies—one historical and the other demographic, economic, and sociological—of the literature on immigration to America from 1607 to 1955. The first one in particular furnishes a useful starting point for research on practically any aspect of immigration. The staff of the Population Migration Project at George Washington University has turned up thousands of titles, at least some of which would otherwise evade even the most diligent scholar. The compilers disarm criticism by presenting their bibliographies as only a "preliminary listing," but if they plan a fuller edition, a more discriminating system of classification would be helpful. Apart from conventional rubrics such as "racial groups," "area accounts," and "public policy," the historical bibliography usually leaves it to the user to distinguish contemporary sources from secondary works, scholarly studies from ephemera, and good books from disreputable. And the headings are sometimes misleading: students of "public policy" will have to look under "general" works to find Higham's *Strangers in the Land*; those interested in nineteenth-century Irishmen or Jews are apt to miss Handlin's *Boston's Immigrants* or Grinstein's *Rise of the Jewish Community of New York*; and the Welsh fail somehow to qualify as British. Historians may find more suggestive the well-annotated demographic, economic, and sociological bibliography, although it (like its accompanying essays) is concerned primarily with future policy. The historical essay calls for research on such topics as the immigrant traffic, immigrants on the frontier or in politics, and their cultural contributions and assimilation. While such questions have their importance, is not what the bibliography calls the "area account"—an investigation of all aspects of immigration in the broader social context

of a particular city or region—a more practical and rewarding approach for the historian?

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY. Edited by *John Tracy Ellis*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 677. \$8.75.) This volume represents a mere sampling of a vast amount of source material which is available for the writing and teaching of the history of Catholicism in America. Its 163 selections are drawn from papal bulls, letters, memoirs, manuscript collections, archival materials, and newspapers; they include poems by Joyce Kilmer and John Bannister Tabb and the witticisms of Mr. Dooley. About a fourth of the book deals with colonial times, and the last selection is the papal encyclical on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the American hierarchy. The editor has provided introductory historical notes and explanatory footnotes, and the editing and indexing have been carefully done. Probably no two editors would ever make the same selections for a volume of this kind, and therefore any reviewer could point to several omissions that seem important to him. Yet there can be no doubt that the vast majority of these selections will prove useful not only to churchmen but to lay historians as well, whatever their religious affiliation. A reviewer can do no more than highlight some of the more important topics included in such a miscellaneous collection. The selections begin with colonial days, when all of America was *in partibus infidelium*, and move on through later controversies in the American Church over trusteeism, Americanism, and education. They include the development of Catholic journalism in the United States, McMaster's anti-Lincoln editorials in his *Freeman's Journal*, and Purcell's courageous antislavery stand in the *Catholic Telegraph*; various phases of the nativist agitation; Archbishop Hughes's fulminations of a century ago against revolutionary radicals, including "Young Irelanders," and his stubborn opposition to western colonization projects; Cardinal Gibbons' defense of Henry George and the Knights of Labor; immigration; the emphasis on the social gospel in the Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction (1919); and Governor Smith's answer to religious bigotry in 1928.

CARL WITTKKE, *Western Reserve University*

EVOLUTION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN AMERICA, 1870-1910. By *Amales Tripathi*. (Calcutta, India: World Press Private Ltd. 1956. Pp. ix, 106. 12s.6d.) A scholar from India presented this slim book as his master's thesis at Columbia. His intent was to analyze "the controlling assumptions of American historians" in the generation after 1870 and the relationship of such assumptions to the social scene. In his anxiety to establish a unity among historians whose themes and treatment varied markedly, Professor Tripathi occasionally gives the impression of being formula-ridden. Thus, in coupling Theodore Roosevelt with other historians of the period, he fails to note important differences. The sweeping generalization with its small truth and larger distortion is too often used in these earnest pages. The point of view reflects the conventional European Laborite or Socialist estimate of the American businessman. Though it covers familiar ground (not always acknowledging an indebtedness to predecessors), it is an excellent performance for a neophyte. It achieves a fair measure of success in relating historical writing to the economic and social environment. This study is another and welcome example of the increasing attention given by foreign scholars to the history of the United States. For better results, however, these same scholars will need to remember that American history is no more simple than the history of their own countries.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

FRANKLIN AND HIS FRENCH CONTEMPORARIES. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge*. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. 260. \$4.75.) The problem of piecing together the full story of Franklin's activities and influence in France has occupied scholars since John Bigelow. The task, which has been complicated by the venerable doctor's annoying discretion in covering up his own tracks, is still unfinished, but the present study constitutes a valuable, readable, and erudite contribution. It is, in fact, the first extended work of scholarly character devoted exclusively to the problem since E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France*. Professor Aldridge wisely has not attempted to cover all phases of Franklin's role in French-American relations (he omits, for instance, his subject's diplomatic activities) and has concentrated on describing Franklin's part in French-American literary history and on defining the contemporary French conception of the American representative. Within these limits, the author has effectively summed up recent findings and has added much new information garnered from extensive research in French archives and libraries. On the one hand, he details Franklin's contributions to the *Ephémérides du citoyen*, the French publications of *The Way to Wealth* and the *Autobiography*, the composition of the bagatelles, the dissemination of the political and propaganda pieces, and the strange adventures of the Polly Baker story. On the other, he provides an analysis of the image of Franklin as represented in contemporary French fiction, drama, poetry, memoirs, correspondence, political writings, and periodicals. Thus the book lies mainly in the area of literary history, but not wholly so, for such pertinent topics as Franklin's influence on unicameralism in the French Revolution are also treated. It must be noted that there are a few errors, mostly bibliographical. For instance, the second French publication of *The Way to Wealth* was probably that in the *Courrier de l'Europe* (March 21-May 30, 1777), not Ruault's 1777 edition. And the author of *Etats-Unis de l'Amérique comparés avec les ligues achéennes . . .* was Charles Mayer, not Mayo. Moreover, the 1780 edition of Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* was scarcely the last during the author's lifetime. But such slips or omissions are not numerous enough to detract from the general value of the book. It is perhaps to be regretted, however, that Aldridge chose not to attempt the long overdue job of definitively identifying Franklin's contributions to the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* and that he passed over possibly the most interesting of the Franklin literary problems of the period, the authorship of "The Sale of the Hessians."

DURAND ECHEVERRIA, *Brown University*

REBELS AND REDCOATS. By *George F. Scheer* and *Hugh F. Rankin*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 572. \$7.50.) *Rebels and Redcoats* is a history of land warfare in the Revolution, largely devoted to the operations of the Continental Army and its British adversary. It covers substantially the same ground recently traversed by several writers, including Willard Wallace (*Appeal to Arms*) and Christopher Ward (*War of the Revolution*). It is more detailed than Wallace's work, less so than that of Ward. The authors, who have carried on researches with respect to partisan warfare in the South, have reserved their findings in that field for later publication, and no novelty is claimed for *Rebels and Redcoats*, except in manner of presentation. Offering very extensive quotations from contemporary documents, they sought to write a narrative both accurate and appealing. The result is a smoothly written and colorful book containing but one error that may be described as serious. Messrs. Scheer and Rankin list in their bibliography only the sources for their quotations, but they made much and good use of the works of other scholars. In a few cases, on their large canvas, colors are not quite true, and lines are not precisely

drawn. Repeating an ancient error long since exploded, they assert that according to British strategy in 1777 Sir William Howe was to send a force northward from New York to meet Burgoyne's army at Albany. The authors have supplied a fine set of clear and attractive maps. In general, they achieved their purpose.

JOHN R. ALDEN, *Duke University*

TRUXTUN OF THE CONSTELLATION: THE LIFE OF COMMODORE THOMAS TRUXTUN, U. S. NAVY, 1755-1822. By *Eugene S. Ferguson*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 322. \$5.25.) Although Thomas Truxtun is distinguished in American naval history as the outstanding commander in the quasi war with France, hitherto he has had no biographical account more than a dozen pages in length. This lack has been filled by Eugene S. Ferguson in a highly satisfactory biography which is as complete as the available sources permit. Truxtun went to sea from New York in 1767, rose rapidly, and during the Revolution commanded both merchantmen and privateers. After the war he made trading voyages to China, India, and Europe before accepting a commission as captain in the nascent United States Navy in 1794. Best known for his skillful and aggressive operations in the frigate *Constellation* during the quasi war with France, he also made significant contributions in navigation, signaling, and naval tactics. Perhaps most important was his part in the establishment of a tradition of command and strict but fair discipline in the new navy. A dispute with the Jefferson administration over relative rank caused the staunch Federalist Truxtun to resign in 1802, and he spent the remainder of his life in rather embittered and tiresome retirement, taking some part in party politics and quarreling with his family. Ferguson has used a great array of widely scattered sources, including family papers hitherto unavailable. His footnotes and bibliography not only attest to the diligence of his work but also form a useful guide to further study in this period of American maritime and naval history. Truxtun emerges as a living, plausible figure with qualities of both excellence and human pettiness. His relationship to those about him is skillfully presented so that the book assumes wider significance than that of a strictly biographical narrative. Well-balanced, clearly written, and with touches of quiet humor, this is both a delightful book to read and good history.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

JAMES GILLESPIE BIRNEY: SLAVEHOLDER TO ABOLITIONIST. By *Betty Fladeland*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 323. \$5.00.) This volume is an important addition to the literature of the antislavery movement. The author has utilized the Weld and Birney correspondence, already familiar to those who have read the revisionist studies of Professors Barnes and Dumond, but she has also made excellent use of a wealth of other manuscript and newspaper sources to produce the first scholarly biography of James G. Birney. One cannot but admire Birney. Until midway in life he was a typical Southern aristocrat. As preparation for politics his father provided him with an excellent education—Transylvania University, Princeton, opportunity to read law with Alexander J. Dallas of Philadelphia. Upon returning to Danville the young lawyer married into a prominent family and got a start in Kentucky politics. Then, in 1818, he moved to Alabama territory and became a planter. Here, his legal talent and his wide acquaintance with leading educators were both utilized by the new state—in organizing a government and in founding the university. But by 1823, overindulgence in vices common to his social station—gambling and drink—had plunged him into debt. Selling the plantation, Birney moved into Huntsville, resumed a law practice, reordered his personal life,

joined the Presbyterian church, and began to show an interest in social reforms. Birney's transition from slaveholder to abolitionist came gradually and can be attributed to his religious conversion. This experience prompted him to want to aid the Negro race and in 1832 he became a colonizationist. A year spent as agent for the American Colonization Society in the deep South so disillusioned him with prospects for success in that part of the slaveholding region that he returned to Kentucky late in 1833 determined to work for gradual emancipation in the border states. While engaged in this activity he was disturbed by a growing conviction that slavery was a sin and, following the Lane debates, he met with Weld, decided to abandon colonization, manumitted his remaining slaves on June 2, 1834, and became an abolitionist. Birney's subsequent career as an editor, lecturer, publicist, secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, candidate of the Liberty party for President in 1840 and 1844, as well as the period of his retirement (1845-57), is carefully delineated. The author has drawn a well-balanced portrait of this proud, obstinate, ambitious man whose "intellectual convictions" and "deep-seated humanitarianism" permitted him to rise above his human frailties and to do as much as any single individual to formulate the moral, political, and constitutional arguments that led, ultimately, to the abolition of Negro slavery.

ARTHUR R. KOOKER, *University of Southern California*

THE INTIMATE LETTERS OF JOHN CLEVES SYMMES AND HIS FAMILY INCLUDING THOSE OF HIS DAUGHTER MRS. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, WIFE OF THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Beverley W. Bond, Jr.* [Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.] (Cincinnati: the Society. 1956. Pp. xxxiii, 174. \$4.50.) In 1926 the editor of this volume published the *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*. Not until the John C. Short Family Papers were acquired by the Library of Congress (1944) was the publication of the intimate papers of the Symmes family possible. The letters chosen for publication present a picture of frontier life on the Ohio River and range chronologically from 1769 to 1862. The reader is made to feel the spirit of the rapidly developing West in the early eighteenth century, with all its debt and waste, its scarcity of money, and its dreams of a better tomorrow. The struggle to transplant Eastern standards of living, social life, and literary interests to a wilderness in the process of settlement by farmers, trappers and fur traders, uncouth river boatmen, and adventurous merchants was a rigorous one. There were few signal successes, but many disappointments. Two personalities stand out in these letters, John Cleves Symmes and his daughter Anna, who married William Henry Harrison. Anna Harrison's papers were destroyed when her home burned in 1855; there is so little known about her that we are indebted to the editor for these letters. The editing and the mechanics are commendable.

WILLIAM E. SMITH, *Miami University*

LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume IV. By *Kenneth P. Williams*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 616. \$7.50.) When the first two volumes of *Lincoln Finds a General* appeared in 1949, the publishers announced that two more volumes, one on U. S. Grant in the West and another on Grant versus Lee in the East, would complete Lincoln's quest. Fortunately, these plans miscarried and Williams settled down to write a careful, detailed history of Grant's western campaigns. The fourth volume, carrying Grant from Iuka to Vicksburg, reveals not only a maturing Grant but an author maturing under the influence of careful scholarship and painstaking research. The first two

volumes were crotchety, filled with opinionated editorials condemning George B. McClellan, and arguing some rather tenuous points after the traditional manner of an arm-chair strategist. The present volume (like the one preceding it) is based on a thorough examination of the *Official Records* and demonstrates, item by item, and without editorial pontification, the superior qualities of Grant as a general. In the process, Don Carlos Buell and William S. Rosecrans emerge as clearly the generals for whom Lincoln was not looking. In the text, the footnotes, and the appendix, the author carefully disposes of the claims of Anna Carroll as a military genius and of Sylvanus Cadwallader as a truthful reporter. Three more volumes are now promised, and at the present rate they bid fair to being the "definitive" history of the Northern armies in the Civil War.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

LINCOLN AS THEY SAW HIM. Edited and narrated by *Herbert Mitgang*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 519. \$6.00.) Abraham Lincoln's speeches and writings, of course, have been conveniently gathered together. "But," Herbert Mitgang observes, "for a hundred years the full original reports and editorials appearing in the newspapers and periodicals of Lincoln's own time—North, South, East, West and in Europe—have been scattered around the country. This book aims to repair this omission by supplying a modest number of the contemporary judgments and, thus, to unfold Lincoln's life as it appeared to the public of his time." The selections, arranged chronologically from March, 1832, to May, 1865, include viciously hostile as well as eulogistic and more or less impartial comment. Some of them have been frequently quoted and are fairly well known; a few, written by Lincoln or quoting him, are to be found in his *Collected Works*; others are unfamiliar and fresh. The editor's introductions to his pieces are neither very critical nor very informative, and the index lists only periodicals and proper names. The book is not to be compared with the volumes of *Southern Editorials on Secession* and *Northern Editorials on Secession*, published by the American Historical Association, which with their analytical indexes are vastly more useful as sources of newspaper opinion on Lincoln for the limited period they cover. Nor is this book to be compared in usefulness or readability with *The Living Lincoln*, the one-volume abridgment of the *Collected Works* edited by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers. *Lincoln as They Saw Him* is a minor repair to a major omission. Nevertheless, students of Lincoln and the Civil War are indebted to Mitgang for this much, and Lincoln fans will find a great deal in the book to interest them, though few will have the stamina to read it straight through as a biography. Scholars and general readers alike will be grateful for two of the illustrations, hitherto unpublished drawings of Lincoln which were sketched from life by the French businessman and artist, Pierre Morand.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

SOUTH AFTER GETTYSBURG: LETTERS OF CORNELIA HANCOCK, 1863-1868. Edited by *Henrietta Stratton Jaquette*. Foreword by *Bruce Catton*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 288. \$4.00.) Cornelia Hancock, a young Quaker from New Jersey imbued with abolitionist zeal, served as a nurse in the Civil War and taught the freedmen in South Carolina for ten years after the war. This book contains her Civil War letters (originally published in 1937) and the recently discovered postwar letters. The latter constitute a valuable addition although they cover only a short period of her stay in the South. Miss Hancock's style of writing leaves much to be desired. If, however, the reader is willing to plow through many hastily written letters filled with much trivia, he is rewarded by frequent valuable

comments and observations on wartime and postwar conditions. The author had a sincere devotion to the Union, the common soldier, and the Negro; a distrust of the military in general; and an undying hatred of the "Secesh," an attitude that continued into the Reconstruction period. These contemporary letters are more valuable than some of the Civil War memoirs currently coming from the press that often were written after a lapse of years. The book, however, suffers from lack of the kind of thorough editing that would have identified correspondents and other persons, furnished explanatory notes and illustrative maps, and eliminated inconsequential material.

ALLEN J. GOING, *University of Alabama*

HENRY VARNUM POOR: BUSINESS EDITOR, ANALYST, AND REFORMER.

By *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.* [Studies in Entrepreneurial History published in cooperation with the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. 362. \$6.50.) "The pen was Henry Varnum Poor's calling," writes his great-grandson, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. It was Poor's pen in fact that justifies attention to a life which was otherwise of but passing moment. Poor edited the *American Railroad Journal* during the twelve years before the Civil War, and afterward he launched the important *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, which attached a lasting significance to his name. It is noteworthy that from the beginning, unlike other pioneer business journalists, Poor directed his pen and editorial policies along creative lines. "He was not content merely to report and record," Chandler continues. "Instead he used the data he compiled as a basis for analyzing the problems and suggesting changes and improvements in the industry which his periodicals served." As a result, his importance rests on being one of the first Americans to explore the manifold problems posed by the advent of large-scale business and industry. His career as business editor, analyst, and reformer runs threadlike through the revolutionary changes in mid-nineteenth-century railroading. But more than any other railroad editor and as much as any business editor, Henry Varnum Poor was associated closely with those Eastern financiers and merchants, identified by Professor Cochran in his *Railroad Leaders* (1953), who defined the railroader's business role in the more responsible terms of the "general entrepreneur." Thus Poor's writings afforded an additional link in the behavioral chain "by which the actions of Western and Southern railroad men were guided from almost the very beginning of American railroad expansion by the Eastern 'prescribing group.'" Chandler's study of his ancestor is as thorough as any student of entrepreneurial history could desire. He has used the family papers with effect and repeatedly demonstrates his mastery of contemporary business, railroad, and industrial materials. Indeed, students would do well to consult his bibliographical notes for guidance. Yet this is a turgid and poorly written book. It is true that its theme concentrates on Poor's editorial policies and programs, and not on his life, while detailing problems of railroad construction, finance, competition, and administration. It is true also that this was the proper approach and that a great deal of fresh information becomes available thereby on the early steps toward large business units in the United States. Almost all sense of the historic drama of America's railroads is lost, however, amidst excessive verbiage, as the author submerges himself and his readers in the depths of day-to-day and year-by-year topics and editorials. Again and again, Poor's positions and functions are characterized in terms that grow increasingly hackneyed as the chapters go by. This is regrettable, because Chandler's book is a solid piece of work, the last word on Henry Varnum Poor, one suspects, for a long time. Poor's importance as a business editor is now clearly fixed for historians. Yet

his own blue pencil must have itched, wherever it is that good editors go when they die, to repair this job that has been done on him.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN, *Bryn Mawr College*

THE SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Henry Wasser*. (Thessalonike: the Author. 1956. Pp. 127.) Scholars have long been fascinated with the enigma of Henry Adams. Many have offered explanations, and some have found a niche in history or intellectual development for the wandering soul he was. All students of Adams have noted his preoccupation with science. Now, for the first time, a scholar not only has said that science is a significant key to Adams' thought but has set as his task the study of this most important phase of Adams' thinking. Dr. Wasser begins with an analysis of Adams' scientific attitude and philosophy, somewhat too short to be satisfactory, and then follows the development of his scientific education and its effects upon his thinking from his interests in biological, geological, and historical evolution, to his interest in mathematics, physics, the second law of thermodynamics, and finally his concept of the rule of phase. The book is a work of literary criticism based primarily upon Adams' published work, with some reference to letters and manuscripts and extensive use of the marginalia in Adams' personal library. It produces no new conclusions about Adams and might have benefited by the acknowledgment of the work of other Adams scholars, especially that of W. H. Jordy, *Henry Adams, Scientific Historian* (1952). Nevertheless, Wasser has performed a valuable service in organizing in one volume Adams' scientific thought and in relating it to the sources from which Adams drew.

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL, *University of Texas*

THE RADICAL NOVEL IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1954: SOME INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF LITERATURE AND SOCIETY. By *Walter B. Rideout*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 339. \$6.00.) "Radical" is an adjective too commonly used and too infrequently studied. Latterly it has had greater currency as an epithet than as an attribute. Even scholars have been wary of employing it except where historical tradition has properly sanctified its referents. In this study of the radical novel since 1900, Professor Rideout has undertaken "to put the facts into the public domain," where they unquestionably belong. He has succeeded in examining the subject with exemplary calmness and consistent good taste. Economically compressed within 291 pages, the treatment of the radical novel is in four main divisions. The first, the initial two decades of the twentieth century, covers the Socialist novel beginning with Isaac Kahn Friedman's *By Bread Alone* (1901). Almost half a hundred Socialist novels appeared during these years. In the second period, from the Great War to the Great Depression, economic collapse shattered older certainties and endowed the Soviet creed with an appearance of sanity. Ninety "proletarian" novels were submitted in a contest sponsored by the *New Masses* and the publishing house of John Day. Certainties were shattered once again when, in the third stage from 1935 to 1939, the Nazi-Russian pact made the Communist God, until then safe in his Moscow heaven, fail beyond hope of redemption by reason. Even the withering blasts of cold war have been unable to freeze the radical literary stream. At least forty novels have appeared between 1940 and 1954. Dialectics often concerned the radical novelist more than aesthetics. But it was literary theory and fidelity to creative purpose that splintered the literary left. The flaws of society which angered radical writers, however, are of greater historical significance than the flaws of logic which continue to anger conservative critics. Injustice remains injustice regardless of the political credentials of the protestants. And the major significance of

the record, now happily in the public domain, is a record of social protest. No sketch can do justice to these closely packed pages. They are judicious, temperate, and compassionate. The check list of 189 radical novels will be helpful to students, for if the novels were never novels as much as social documents, most of the problems to which they were addressed have still to be solved.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG, *Sarah Lawrence College*

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1900-1925. By *Marguerite Green*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 537. \$5.50.) The National Civic Federation, founded in 1900 or 1901 (the date is uncertain), was designed as a forum for the discussion of national affairs. During its fruitful period, the years prior to World War I, it performed this function and served as a meeting ground where a heterogeneous group of influential men exchanged ideas, attempted to formulate solutions to public problems, and exerted considerable influence on behalf of the moderate progressivism of the time. The NCF was not a one-man outfit. Mark Hanna, Samuel Gompers, Andrew Carnegie, Oscar Straus, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, Mayor Seth Low of New York City, and many others made substantial contributions. But the real force in the NCF was its founder, Ralph Montgomery Easley, a crusading Kansas newspaperman turned national reformer. Easley supplied the enthusiasm, tact, persuasiveness, and skillful guidance principally responsible for the NCF's early success. Marguerite Green's monograph treats only one, but the most important, of the Federation's programs: industrial relations. Consciously pro-labor, yet moderate enough to enlist the support of "enlightened" capitalists, the NCF pioneered in industrial conciliation and mediation and worked for the passage of liberal labor laws. These endeavors assisted in the prevention or solution of an impressive number of labor troubles. The NCF gave material assistance to Gompers' campaign for public acceptance of organized labor. American entry into World War I brought a change. Easley and the dominant members of the NCF "slipped with ease" into ultraconservatism. The emotional impact of the War and the postwar hysteria over Bolshevism washed out their moderate progressivism of earlier years, and NCF's industrial relations program became part of an all-embracing, almost fanatical, campaign against radicalism. Moving so far to the right as to destroy the appeal and influence it had built on a middle-of-the-road foundation, the Federation dwindled away. Miss Green's careful, detailed, dispassionate study, closely documented from primary materials, will naturally appeal to labor historians. It should be called to the attention of intellectual and social historians as well; the NCF and Easley, the organization's genius, reflected a pattern of beliefs and attitudes widespread among leaders of the period.

DAVID M. BEHEN, *Youngstown University*

THE GREATNESS OF WOODROW WILSON, 1856-1956. Arranged and edited by *Em Bowles Alsop*. Introduction by *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1956. Pp. xiv, 268. \$3.95.) Despite the editor's statement that this volume, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Wilson's birth, is intended for laymen "who do *not* know Mr. Wilson, or who know him slightly," historians also may read with profit some of the essays by eighteen distinguished persons. Some of the contributions to this work are heavily loaded with eulogy, but others are better balanced and are based on an impressive knowledge of source materials. Scholars interested in twentieth-century American history will welcome Arthur S. Link's essay, "The Progressive," which is for the most part a distillation of his more voluminous work on this subject. It is noteworthy that Link's interpretation in

Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era that Wilson turned to "advanced" progressivism in 1916 merely out of expediency now has a softer and more sympathetic tone. "The Man in History," by Katharine E. Brand, will serve as an invaluable guide for scholars planning to do research in the bulky unpublished materials of the Wilson Papers and in the related personal papers of public figures. Ralph McGill's essay, "The President," is a militant defense of Wilsonian policies. Some of his interpretations are provocative, but at times he becomes too dogmatic, especially when he claims that American membership in the League would have kept the mandates from becoming "little more than subterfuges for old-fashioned imperialism." Other essays in this volume that especially deserve the attention of historians are: "The Political Philosopher," by Walter Lippmann; "The Educator," by Harold W. Dodds; "Wilson to South America," by Luis Quintanilla; "The Man of Faith," by Frank Bell Lewis; "The Internationalist," by Edgar Eugene Robinson; "The Human Being," by Virginius Dabney; and "The Statesman," by Claude G. Bowers. This volume has two basic weaknesses: an inordinate amount of repetition resulting from an overlapping of topics and an unevenness in the quality of the essays.

JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON, *Washington, D. C.*

A CROSSROADS OF FREEDOM: THE 1912 CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF WOODROW WILSON. Edited by *John Wells Davidson*. With a preface by *Charles Seymour*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 570. \$6.00.) Like the newspapers in which they are so extensively reported, presidential campaign speeches are usually of only momentary interest. Occasionally a candidate makes some great pronouncement or drastic shift of position in such an oration, but more often he merely talks, or, as Harding put it, "blovies," being concerned more with the political effects of his remarks than with their meaning. Historians have long considered Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" addresses an exception to this generalization, and for this reason John W. Davidson's edition of these 1912 campaign speeches is of particular interest. Drawing chiefly upon the shorthand notes of Wilson's stenographer, Charles L. Swen, Davidson has given us all of the most important speeches in accurate form. His introductions provide a day-by-day, indeed almost an hour-by-hour, account of Wilson's campaign. As a result, it is now possible to trace more accurately the development of Wilson's ideas and to pin down more closely where and when he altered and expanded the New Freedom philosophy during the course of the campaign. The only serious weakness in this attractively printed and well-indexed volume is the overly reverential approach of the editor. It is one thing to establish an accurate text and something else to print a sentence "Whom are you afraid of?" and indicate in a footnote that in the actual oration Wilson "inadvertently" said "who." A less worshipful editor would print the word as "Who [*sic*]," or as "Who[m]". When Wilson gets mixed up in his syntax, Davidson apologizes for him in a footnote; when he indulges in a politically necessary misstatement, Davidson tells us that he "evidently did not realize" the truth. This attitude reaches an extreme when the editor refers to the candidate's campaign train as the "faithful Federal." If Davidson had devoted space wasted in such ways to an expansion of his somewhat skimpy introduction and of his inadequate identifications of persons and events mentioned in the speeches, his book would be much improved. Still, the speeches are important, and Davidson is our benefactor for having made them available.

JOHN A. GARRATTY, *Michigan State University*

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT: HOSPITALIZATION AND EVACUATION, ZONE OF INTERIOR. By *Clarence McKittrick Smith*. [U. S. Army in World War

II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 503. \$4.00.) This volume is concerned not with medical and surgical matters per se but with the logistics of first aid, hospitalization, and evacuation. The problem of taking care of sick and wounded men has been of concern to every army throughout history, yet never has it had the magnitude which it assumed in World War II. Never before were our armies so large and so widely dispersed; size and space introduced parameters hitherto unknown in medical logistics. One of the outstanding achievements of medical science in World War II was the low mortality rate from both disease and combat injury. For the first time in military history, more men were killed in battle than died of disease. More wounded men recovered than in earlier wars. The reasons, of course, are many, yet above all others was the logistic element, which made it possible for surgeons, physicians, nurses, and technicians to be maximally effective. Medical victories like military victories are won by getting there "fustest with the mostest." The author has done a competent job of historical synthesis and has skillfully handled a vast mass of documentary material. In developing the story of the Medical Department from the period of waiting in 1939 and partial mobilization in 1940 to full mobilization and global deployment of the Armed Forces at the time of final victory in 1945, he has made a significant contribution to our military history.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Armed Forces Institute of Pathology*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- JAMES LOGAN AND THE CULTURE OF PROVINCIAL AMERICA. By Frederick B. Tolles. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 228. \$3.50.) James Logan lived in an age when a man could take all knowledge to be his province and somehow encompass it. He illustrated, as Tolles points out, "an ideal as old as the Renaissance and already on the decline in England—the ideal of the gentleman scholar, the virtuoso." He also illustrated the opportunities that the New World offered to men of ability and brains to achieve prosperity, power, and prestige, all as a result of their own efforts. Tolles's book is both a fascinating biography of one man and, by implication and suggestion, a description of the

process by which colonial immigrants became Americans. Logan was a Quaker youth, the son of a poor Scottish schoolmaster, who acquired a thirst for knowledge from his father's teaching and by the time he was thirteen gained a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After serving briefly as an apprentice to a linen draper, substituting for his father as a teacher in a Friends' school, and dabbling in the linen trade in Bristol, in 1699 he attracted the attention of William Penn and agreed to go out to Pennsylvania as the great man's secretary. The story of James Logan and the history of Pennsylvania are henceforth inextricably mixed. Logan eventually found himself the representative of the Lord Proprietor and the mediator between a various and troublesome population and authorities in England. The difficulties of being at once a practicing Quaker and a practical administrator for a frontier commonwealth often resulted in perplexities for Logan and frustrations for the people of Pennsylvania, but Logan, like some other great Quakers, was endowed with common sense. Some of the most interesting passages show the conflict between the theory of Logan's religion and the practical necessities of colonial life. Concerning a fellow Quaker, Edward Shippen, who proved a weak president of the Council, Logan commented that his "niceness in some things will scarce suit the exigencies of our affairs." Logan's genius lay in reconciling his conscience and the need for administrative strength. He proved particularly effective in negotiations with the Indians and for many years almost singlehandedly kept the Indians at peace. Logan acquired wealth as a fur trader, but trade was not an end in itself. He wanted to be a scholar and a gentleman, and by 1730 he had completed a handsome mansion outside of Philadelphia on the Germantown road. He retired to live the life of a Quaker grandee and devote himself to his library and to scientific experimentation. He lived until 1751 and was an active intellectual influence in the colony. He corresponded with scholars and scientists beyond the seas; his classical works and scientific books were available to other colonial scholars; and he encouraged men like Bartram and others to pursue their investigations. Tolles's book is a valuable contribution to the new Library of American Biography edited by Oscar Handlin. It is succinct, accurate, significant, and well written.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Folger Library*

ROCHESTER: THE QUEST FOR QUALITY, 1890-1925. By *Blake McKelvey*. [Rochester Public Library, Kate Gleason Fund Publications, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 432. \$6.00.) In his third volume of the history of Rochester, Dr. McKelvey has written what could well be the general biography of almost any Middle Western city in that period. He ably shows the forces exerted on and by the city in every phase of life. The early 1890's saw Rochester a satisfied and confident city, but "disquieting tensions" soon forced adjustment to meet rapidly changing situations. In all things the citizens sought "quality" to prove Rochester was "no mean city." Civic pride and desire for accomplishment were demonstrated by the intense intercity rivalry in which Rochesterians were determined to outshine all others in areas ranging from good government and social and cultural achievements to garbage disposal. At home there was a rash of committees to study questions and mergers, federations, and confederations to prevent wasteful duplication of effort and competition. In politics the "quest for quality" meant good government instead of boss rule, proper control of utilities, city planning, adequate public recreation, good schools, better housing, and improved public health. In economic life quality meant not only finer products to bear the label "Made in Rochester" but also the solution of all industrial and labor problems. In social life it meant proper adjustment to a new foreign population and meeting the needs

created by the weakening of family ties as individuality gave way before mass or spectator events. In religious life the social gospel tended to lessen strict denominationalism and promote cooperation among all faiths. There was a widespread effort to build increased pride in the city's cultural arts and to diffuse them through all classes. Although the ideal in any particular area of endeavor was seldom achieved, all problems were tackled with vigor. Despite local jealousies and conflicting personalities, Rochester could say with pride that it was a better place because of its efforts to find quality. McKelvey has done an admirable piece of research and writing in weaving a myriad of facts into a central theme; Rochester should be congratulated for having such a competent historian.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA, FROM WHENCE IS INFERRED A SHORT VIEW OF MARYLAND AND NORTH CAROLINA. By *Hugh Jones*. Edited with an introduction by *Richard L. Morton*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Virginia Historical Society. 1956. Pp. xiv, 295. \$5.00.) Students of the colonial period in general and of the Old Dominion in particular will be grateful that Richard L. Morton has brought out a new and scholarly edition of Hugh Jones's treatise on eighteenth-century Virginia, first published in 1724, last printed by Sabin in 1865, and now exceedingly scarce. This invaluable source book has been prefaced by an "Editor's Introduction," in which Morton, drawing upon a lifetime's research in Virginia history and generously acknowledging and utilizing the preceding work of other scholars, has condensed into forty-four pages a model brief biography of Jones and conditions in England, Virginia, and Maryland. The Reverend Mr. Jones, whose objects in writing his book about Virginia were to supplement historical knowledge of the colony and to promote its development, has described with insight the town of Williamsburg, the geography, climate, flora and fauna, Indian population, Negroes and Negro slavery (which institution, in common with enlightened eighteenth-century Virginians he desired to diminish), the church and clergy, development of economic life (especially encouragement of iron works), and the fitting of his proposals for manufacture and commerce into the larger pattern of British mercantilist policy. Jones, also noted as a grammarian and mathematician, in appendixes to the text of his main work, sketched several "schemes" for the improvement of education, trade, manufacturing, and religion in the colony. Of interest are his proposals for the organization and curriculum of the College of William and Mary, in which he urged the creation of six chairs, one of which would be for history. Noteworthy also are his wise suggestions for the liberalization of mercantilism, which if followed in London might have lessened frictions later in the century. Jones concluded that there could never be "room for real apprehension of danger of a revolt of the plantations in future ages" and adduced supporting arguments. The volume is enriched by more than a hundred pages of explanatory notes, which themselves constitute a course in colonial history, and by several reproductions of original plates from Jones's books.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Newport, Rhode Island*

THE CAROLINA CHRONICLE OF DR. FRANCIS LE JAU, 1706-1717. Edited, with an introduction and notes by *Frank J. Klingberg*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 220. \$3.50.) Francis Le Jau, French Huguenot by origin, was a dedicated missionary who wrote detailed reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These letters, seventy-one in number, mostly addressed to the Secretary of the London Society, constitute a valuable addition to the sources of Carolina history in troubled times. His Goose Creek parish, near Charleston, was strongly Anglican; his parishioners included prospering planters who were leaders in the church party and the affairs of the province. Yet he had to report dismayingly obstacles to his threefold task of promoting Anglican Christianity among the whites, the slaves, and—on the whole not very actively—among the Indians. The dissenters, numerous in the colony though not in his parish, were bent, he believed, on securing an independent establishment; even among the better sort of churchmen he encountered materialism and indifference, if not always active opposition to his efforts to teach and convert their slaves. It was a vigorous, violent society that he pictured, capable of fortitude in time of desperate danger—as his graphic accounts of the Yamasee War

reveal—and capable also of tragic inhumanity in race relations and the conduct of the Indian trade. There are explanatory footnotes and a useful introduction.

V. W. CRANE, *University of Michigan*

ROBERT OLIVER, MERCHANT OF BALTIMORE, 1783-1819. By *Stuart Weems Bruchey*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. Pp. 411, ix. \$5.00.) This is an account of the business activities of one of the leading merchants of Baltimore during the decades immediately following the American Revolution. Robert Oliver came from northern Ireland to Baltimore in 1783 with little or no money but with plenty of business acumen. Acting first in one partnership and then in another, he built up a fortune of more than a million dollars—a very large amount for that day. Astute in taking advantage of mercantile opportunities in troubled times, he was especially successful in trade with Vera Cruz during the period of the Napoleonic Wars when the Spanish colonies in America were temporarily opened to some outside commerce. A conservative, Oliver was a staunch supporter of the Federalist party. The author made this study for his doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins. His chief source has been the Oliver Record Books in the Maryland Historical Society, a fine set of business records; to a lesser extent he has used various other manuscript sources and both primary and secondary printed materials. While it is understood that the writer was not attempting to produce a general history of the period, and even though he does present a good deal of background information, the present reviewer feels it would have been helpful to paint the broad picture a little more clearly and to compare and contrast conditions in Baltimore with those in other American ports of the period. Dr. Bruchey has done a tremendous amount of careful research; his product is well organized and clearly presented and seems to cover the subject adequately. On the whole, the work maintains a high standard of scholarship and will take its place among the best of the growing number of publications on American commercial history.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *North Carolina Department of Archives and History*

CHEROKEES OF THE OLD SOUTH: A PEOPLE IN TRANSITION. By *Henry Thompson Malone*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956. Pp. xiii, 238. \$4.50.) The author attempts to trace Cherokee borrowings from white culture to the date when Andrew Jackson banished the tribe from the Southeast. Malone asserts that previous scholarship has emphasized political relations between the two cultures and has neglected the acculturation of the Indians. I am not sure, however, that the book is as original as its author claims. To the specialist much of the material is familiar, although admittedly it is convenient to have it gathered into a single volume. Malone has used the hitherto unexplored manuscripts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but he seems not to have found extensive unpublished records of the important Baptist, Presbyterian, Moravian, and Methodist missions. For some unexplained reason, he has evidently not examined the notable Payne manuscripts in the Newberry Library, although he seems acquainted with the standard ethnological and historical literature. The range in time and topic attempted in this book perhaps dictated superficiality of treatment. The author covers much territory, but one finds little that changes previous impressions or offers new insights. Acculturation is a subtle process, full of pitfalls for the unwary. Adequate treatment of the subject requires a measure of intellectual sophistication that does not seem evident in this volume. One cannot dismiss the fact that Cherokee nationalism deepened with the progressive assimilation of white techniques. The improvising of

a Cherokee syllabary and the development of representative government, for example, stimulated and solidified national sentiment. The expulsion of the Cherokee is a classic instance of the persecution of a cultural minority; the success of the tribe in adopting white culture made possible the formulation, diffusion, and perpetuation of a group consciousness that helped the tribe survive in the West until American democracy again assailed it.

THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXAS REPUBLIC, 1836-1845. By *Stanley Siegel*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 281. \$5.00.) Originally a doctoral dissertation, this book is a careful synthesis of published materials reinforced by the author's own research in manuscript sources. In view of the advanced status of Texas historiography, as reflected in published bibliographies and lists of theses and dissertations in Texas history, it is surprising that no such study as this had previously appeared. The work was needed and admirably complements William R. Hogan's *The Texas Republic*, published in 1946, which was confined to social and economic history. With austere economy of words, Siegel compresses the complex events of the Revolution into a chapter, deals with the successive administrations of the presidents of the Republic in four chapters, and then devotes the last to annexation, a theme which necessarily runs throughout the book. The history is essentially narrative rather than descriptive and interpretative. Politics in the Republic, the author insists, were almost wholly personal and concerned men and methods rather than issues. On genuine problems—frontier defense, maintenance of independence, securing recognition, and improvement of the economy—there was general agreement. Favorites were nominated on personal grounds, and then so-called issues were concocted for ammunition to be used in mowing down opposing ranks, a political phenomenon never confined to Texas alone. The reviewer, granting that personalities dominated politics and that genuine issues were not conspicuous in platforms and stump speeches, would have welcomed more emphasis on the motivations of leadership. Struggle for power and influence was real, and insofar as politics was its battleground the struggle was a proper subject for emphasis in political history. The volume has informative illustrations, good index and documentation, and a thorough bibliography, in which the reviewer notices nothing of importance missing unless it be the writings of William Bollaert.

TED R. WORLEY, *Arkansas History Commission*

WILLIAM BOLLAERT'S TEXAS. Edited by *W. Eugene Hollon and Ruth Lapham Butler*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press in cooperation with the Newberry Library, Chicago. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 423. \$5.00.) A keen eye and a deft pen are the necessary wherewithal for the preparation of a worthwhile diary, and William Bollaert possessed both. This English soldier of fortune toured the infant Republic of Texas from February, 1842, to July, 1844, visiting the settlements at Galveston, Houston, Austin, Columbus, San Antonio, Montgomery, and Huntsville, as well as the Indian country around the Kennedy grant in southwest Texas. He looked closely at what he saw and faithfully recorded his observations of the country and its people. Very little escaped Bollaert's notice. He was introduced to such dignitaries as Houston, Lamar, and Burnet, attended the partisan political rallies which marked the Houston-Lamar struggle, and kept himself informed on the political intrigues of the annexationists. He rapidly adopted the Texan's attitude toward Mexico, joined the Texas Navy, and sailed for a short cruise aboard a privateer. He not only remarked about those two topics which invariably interested all visitors to Texas—rattlesnakes

and northers—but also investigated the procedures for growing, ginning, and marketing cotton and made a revealing survey of the myths and realities of the “peculiar institution” as it operated in Texas. He associated freely with the people; attended their parties, hunting trips, camp meetings, weddings, and horse races; contracted their diseases and swallowed their remedies; ate their food, smoked and chewed their tobacco, and drank their whiskey, egg nog, and persimmon beer. And he wrote about it all. Editors Hollon and Butler have labored fruitfully. In making available this travel account by a man who was congenial with Texans and optimistic about Texas, they have made a significant contribution to the study of social history in the Republic of Texas on the eve of annexation.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, *University of Texas*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE EARLY JACKSON PARTY IN OHIO. By *Harry R. Stevens*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 187. \$4.50.) This is a book exciting in design but proportionately disappointing in execution. The author set out to answer some big questions about the origins of our party system by scrutinizing closely a limited but representative segment of the development. Unfortunately he has been overwhelmed by the staggering array of information he amassed on the growth of the Jackson party in Ohio preliminary to the presidential election of 1824. In apparent despair of coping with his notes, he has simply shoehorned into his brief text a wilderness of detail about countless political events and personalities, dooming the reader to bewilderment and frustration. There are, to be sure, three chapters of "background" material, including some pregnant data on the impact of the Panic of 1819, and a final chapter of conclusions and reflections. But the "background" is never related systematically to the political events, while the generalizations of the final chapter revolve around a literal-minded preoccupation with the mechanics of political action and are couched in language better calculated to obscure than to clarify meaning. The result is an unhappy compromise between the article which might have communicated the author's present conclusions more tellingly and the big, rich book which his command of the sources might have equipped him to write. The present book does have the negative merit of demonstrating the complex and unstructured pattern of political forces operating in the 1820's, and it may be helpful as a source book to future students of this period in Ohio politics. But even for the latter purpose its usefulness is seriously impaired by a system of sketchy documentation which leaves the reader to guess at most of the author's sources.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR., *Princeton University*

WESTERNIZED YANKEE: THE STORY OF CYRUS WOODMAN. By *Larry Gara*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. x, 254. \$4.50.) The story of Cyrus Woodman—Maine born, Bowdoin, Boston, and Harvard trained, land agent, attorney, speculator, railroad supervisor, and business venturer—is an interesting example of the current surge of writing in business history. The book illustrates the relationship of land, townsites, and transportation facilities (roads, bridges, canals, and railroads) for investors in the middle half of the nineteenth century. Cyrus Woodman, after his law study in Boston, came to Winslow, Illinois, on the boundary

of Wisconsin, as a land agent for a Boston investor's company. After closing out the properties of this company, in 1844 he joined Cadwallader C. Washburn in a law and business partnership, at Mineral Point, Wisconsin Territory, which continued until Washburn entered Congress in 1855. The partners carried on a wide variety of business in land sales, investments, collections, banking, lead mining, and manufacturing. Woodman's later business enterprises included a grocery store, saw milling, and railroad promotion in Wisconsin and supervision of the Burlington and Missouri River railroad construction from Plattsmouth to Lincoln, Nebraska. Woodman followed the gold rush to California, where he transacted business for clients in both East and West, but his interest in California was transitory, and he was back at Mineral Point within six months. He took his family to Europe, to provide his children the educational opportunities that he had missed, and removed them to Cambridge at the outbreak of the Civil War, apparently with this same idea in mind. It seems that the "Yankee" was never quite "westernized," nor was his business success quite an adequate goal for his ambitions, but he never succeeded in making the transition to a public service. He was one of Lyman Draper's and the infant Wisconsin Historical Society's most dependable patrons, donating both money and materials for its early collections. A fortune of roughly half a million dollars was distributed in his will, but despite the vast volume of Woodman's papers and his systematic recording and accounting, the reader is never given a complete picture of his fortune and holdings at any one time. The story of Cyrus Woodman is interestingly told and presents a realistic picture which the reader can accept with confidence. It is built in the main upon the extensive Woodman manuscripts at the Wisconsin Historical Society.

J. L. SELLERS, *University of Nebraska*

FILINGS FROM AN OLD SAW: REMINISCENCES OF SAN FRANCISCO AND CALIFORNIA'S CONQUEST BY "FILINGS"—JOSEPH T. DOWNEY. Edited by *Fred Blackburn Rogers*. (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, Publisher. 1956. Pp. vi, 170.)

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH MERCHANT: THE JOURNAL OF STEPHEN CHAPIN DAVIS. Edited by *Benjamin B. Richards*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1956. Pp. xvii, 124. \$5.00.) California has one of the best documented histories of the development of a frontier, since this movement was accompanied by daily newspapers, diaries, memoirs, letters, and records of various kinds. Annually, more of this vast accumulation is published. *Filings from an Old Saw* is a reprint of eighteen articles published in 1853 by San Francisco's *Golden Era*, one of California's early newspapers that sought to fill a local literary vacuum. Although signed with the pseudonym of Filings, these are the reminiscences of at least two, or possibly three, different persons who conveyed them to the author. Fred B. Rogers has identified Filings as Joseph T. Downey, an enlisted man on the American warship *Portsmouth*, which sailed into Monterey and San Francisco Bays in 1846. These memoirs concerning the American conquest of California between 1845 and 1847 provide interesting new material, such as descriptions of the raising of the American flag in San Francisco on July 9, 1846, the battle of San Pascual, and Fremont's march to Cahuenga Pass. The reminiscences are also valuable for their espousal of the then current American version of the conquest of California, an example of which is the account of the Hawke's Peak incident involving Fremont. The book is interesting, humorous, and valuable reading for the California historian, although not entirely accurate. *California Gold Rush Merchant* is a young man's journal containing some 380 entries recorded during his two trips to California between 1850 and 1854. The journal is

distinctive because its author, only seventeen years old in 1850, was of a religious nature and had a leaning to commercial speculation rather than to gold mining and the popular pleasures of California at that time. During his first visit to California, young Davis operated a store at Long Bar on the Yuba River about ten miles east of Marysville; during his second trip, he built and managed a store at Coulterville in the southern mines region. His comments on life aboard ship and crossing the isthmus are both graphic and significant. Of particular interest are his incidental notations, which reveal certain aspects of California life not generally stressed—the frequent and easy movement throughout northern California, the frequency with which Californians visited in eastern states, and the suggestion that the gold rush extended at least until 1854 when thousands awaited transportation to the Atlantic coast. The author's list of the costs and retail prices of specific items of merchandise in 1850 is a helpful contribution. The lack of adequate maps is regrettable.

J. A. McGOWAN, *Sacramento State College*

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL. By *Wayne Gard*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 296. \$4.50.) Wayne Gard, an editorial writer for the *Dallas Morning News*, turns his hand once more to a western theme worthy of book-length development. *The Chisholm Trail* reaffirms the opinion held by his admirers that he is not only a capable and talented writer but a historian of sharp insight and provocative interpretation. While many historians must be content with merely posing questions, there is something of the playwright in Gard as he molds his material into an epic of the West and writes about all trails along which the frontier moved—long or short, well-known or obscure, dim or well-worn. This volume may well become a classic in the literature concerning the early cattle industry and its environment. The Chisholm Trail had earlier counterparts and probably served as a pattern for later ones. However, its true magnitude rests on the prodigious fact that it acted as a passage for the greatest pastoral movement in the history of the world. In and out, the sinuous highway winds its way through the story as an integrating and captivating force. Strung along its tortuous way, on the ever northward thrust, are the many facets of the cattleman's frontier—the rampaging streams, the crushing herds, the flashing scalping knives—all hazards of the trail. This is no highly specialized study of a segment of the frontier; each chapter contributes to the larger picture of the range cattle industry during the last half of the nineteenth century. Chapters titled "Man of Enterprise," "Trouble at the Border," "Prosperity and Panic," "Rival Cow Towns," "Grass Land Empire," and "Barbed-Wire Barriers" reveal the depth and breadth of the story. All available sources were thoroughly explored, as is evidenced by a dozen or more pages of bibliography. In addition, the author shows balance and variety in the use of these sources; contemporary newspaper items and accounts point up and complement public records, documents, manuscripts, and scholarly publications. *The Chisholm Trail* is an excellent piece of Western Americana, displaying exceptional artistic and historical merits.

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

EDWARD PALMER: PLANT EXPLORER OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By *Rogers McVaugh*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 430. \$6.00.) Primarily this book is neither history nor biography. A geographical index forms the greater part, identifying the thousands of places in western United States and Mexico visited by Edward Palmer. Other listings recite, locate, or characterize his collections and field notes. Altogether these units are the calendar of a great nineteenth-century collector and make a useful research tool for professional botanists.

The author even extends the elaboration of Palmer's collections into the 120-page narrative of his life, which is, very largely, the itinerary of a man who traveled long and far enough to gather 100,000 specimens of plants. There is every evidence here of accuracy and thoroughness. Professor McVaugh has pored over maps and done field sleuthing in the states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, and Jalisco. In the end he became authoritative enough to improve on Palmer's own memory of his whereabouts and to decode some atrocious spelling—botanical or geographical—in his notes and labels. The scientific objective of this volume limits its attractiveness for historians, and except for the very specialized research scholar, I would not recommend it as reading. Palmer lived the professional life of a solitary collector (he never worked well in collaboration). He was no botanist in the best contemporary meaning of the word, because he did not name or classify his specimens. He left that task to Gray, Watson, or Engelmann, who testified how much they relied on him, intellectual tramp though he was, by basing two thousand species of plants, nomenclaturally, on his findings. But he showed no interest in the larger intellectual world of American botany; deep feelings found expression only when he believed his monetary stake in collections was threatened.

THOMAS MANNING, *Texas Technological College*

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Latin American History

Stanley J. Stein¹

LA FLORIDA DEL INCA: HISTORIA DEL ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO, GOBERNADOR Y CAPITÁN GENERAL DEL REINO DE LA FLORIDA, Y DE OTROS HEROICOS CABALLEROS ESPAÑOLES E INDIOS. By *Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. Prólogo por *Aurelio Miró Quesada*. [Biblioteca Americana serie de Cronistas de Indias, Number 31.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. xcii, 471.) The bibliography of this classic narrative of the De Soto expedition is peculiarly uneven. All of the eight French editions appeared between 1670

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and 1751 and all of the five German editions appeared between 1753 and 1796. Two of the three English editions are being published in the 1950's. The present text, which is the fifth Spanish edition, will answer a need in the Spanish-speaking world, since earlier Spanish issues have without exception become rare, and none have been printed for over a century. This is a modernized text, in accordance with Biblioteca Americana policy, the material modernized being that of the original edition of Lisbon, 1605. It contains a biobibliographical prologue by Aurelio Miró Quesada and a bibliography by José Durand, but the remainder of its critical apparatus depends in large part on the English translation by John and Jeannette Varner of 1951. Readers familiar with the literature on De Soto will find little that is new in this work beyond the interpretative Miró Quesada essay, which traces Garcilaso's life in Peru and Spain, comments upon his literary production (the translation of the *Diálogos de Amor*, the *Relación de . . . Garcí-Pérez*, the *Florida del Inca* itself, and his most celebrated work, the *Comentarios Reales* of Peru), and evaluates his talents as writer and historian. Though conventional, the interpretation is lucid and convincing, and Miró Quesada is at his most effective in analyzing the half-literary, half-historical impulses of this Peruvian mestizo against the background of the Spanish Renaissance tradition.

CHARLES GIBSON, *Harvard University*

THE CONQUISTADORS. By *Jean Descola*. Translated by *Malcolm Barnes*. (New York: Viking Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 404. \$5.00.) This book belongs in the exclamation mark school of history! In seeking to make the already almost unbelievable exploits of Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, and other conquistadors incredible, the author has written in a "breathless" style. The result is a narrative frequently entertaining, as the simplest story of the conquest cannot avoid being, but abounding in errors. We learn that "while Vasco da Gama prepared to round the Cape of Good Hope, bold adventurers prospected the Indian and Chinese coasts." Europeans? Who were they? On the same page, the Copernican discoveries are used to bolster the background material for Columbus and Vasco da Gama. The author also states that "Alvarez Cabral, pushed westward by the currents when within sight of the Cape of Good Hope" discovered Brazil; that Bernal Díaz held the position of Chronicler of Cortes' expedition; and that "while . . . somewhere in Yucatán a group of scholars was inventing a calendar, Charlemagne was crowned emperor." In fact, the Maya calendar was probably inaugurated about 580 B.C. We are told that during the time of Montezuma "whole herds had died mysteriously." Herds of what animals? There were no domestic herds in Mexico before the conquest. Also it is obvious that the author does not know the difference between Oaxaca and Cuernavaca and believes that Yucatan (about 80,000 square miles) is larger than France and that the Inca Empire covered "almost the whole of South America." The above are but samples of the "information" in this work, entirely unsupported either by citations or bibliography. It is evident that the author worked from very limited sources which he assimilated imperfectly. In view of its limitations, it is difficult to see what use the book can have to anybody. The specialists can only be annoyed by it, the public misinformed on many points. Why was it written? Why translated?

BAILEY W. DIFFIE, *City College of New York*

FLORENTINE CODEX. Book XII, THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by *Arthur J. O. Anderson* and *Charles E. Dibble*. [Monographs of the School of American Research, Number 14, Part XIII.] (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research and University of Utah. 1955. Pp. 122. \$6.50.) The publication of Book XII of this great Codex brings this

English version of Sahagún to the halfway mark, and if the remaining volumes are done as carefully and richly as this, the total project, completed, will be a true monument in Mexican historiography and undoubtedly a stimulant, in the English-speaking world, to interest in Mexican indigenous culture. The books not yet completed in this vast project are IV, V, VI, IX, X, and XI. For the scholar, this present volume should help in clearing up previously disputed passages of the original (which was examined by one of the translators specifically for this purpose). The notes are abundant and seem to cover any possible question. The Aztec and English run in parallel columns throughout, and the notes give corresponding Spanish versions and other explanation. Twenty-one pages of fine, clear illustrations from the Codex are advantageously located in the center of the book; each page contains an average of some eight or nine actual drawings of different events, with descriptive titles in English. For the interested nonscholar, these illustrations should prove quite fascinating; they are certainly some of the best now easily available to the reading public in this country. The phase of the Codex discussed in the present volume is, in effect, a climax describing the clash of European and Indian cultures. It is, of course, one of the principal sources of what knowledge we have concerning the Indian views of conquest from overseas, and it is an eminently worthwhile project to place all this, in such attractive form, before English readers. The quaintness of language and concepts is well carried over from the Aztec to the English. Completion of this vast translating and publishing project will certainly call for a full review of the total work. For the occasion of printing this volume, a reviewer can do no better, I think, than encourage those engaged in the undertaking to continue in their present excellence; all concerned in the project are to be congratulated for courage and actual performance.

PHILIP W. POWELL, *Santa Barbara, California*

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¹ Includes books, except those to be reviewed, received January 15-April 15, 1957.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The 1957 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Hotel Statler, New York City, December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27.

The American Historical Association received in April, 1957, a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to enable it to develop further the study and teaching of South Asian history in the United States. This grant will be used to bring foreign historical scholars with expert competence in the history of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Nepal) to the United States as visiting professors (normally for one academic year). The grant gives an opportunity for approximately fifteen such visits between 1957 and 1962. In line with the objectives of the grant, the Association will be able to assist universities that have already shown interest in South Asian studies to extend in breadth and depth their offerings relating to South Asia and develop major programs for the training of scholars in South Asian history. The grant will be administered with the aid of the Association's Committee on South Asian History: Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl H. Pritchard, University of Chicago.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received the personal and professional papers of John Franklin Jameson (1859-1937) as a gift from his son, Francis Christie Jameson, and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. As teacher, editor, director of historical research at the Carnegie Institution, and chief of the Library's Manuscript Division, Dr. Jameson did much to promote research in American history and establish high standards of workmanship. He was a moving force behind the copying of archival materials relating to American history abroad, the compilation of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the establishment of the National Archives, the building of a great collection of personal papers in the Library of Congress, and many other projects that enlarged the resources of historians of this country. His papers, which reflect these accomplishments, number about 78,000 pieces in the period from 1867 to 1937. Included are family correspondence and diaries for the years 1867-1921 (these may be consulted only by special per-

mission, which should be requested through the chief of the Manuscript Division) and extensive files of correspondence during his service with the Carnegie Institution.

Some 17,500 papers of Henry T. Allen (1859-1930) have been presented to the Library by his son, Colonel Henry T. Allen, Jr. Composed of extensive correspondence files, journals, military reports, and speeches, dated from 1878 to 1930, the papers cover the various phases of General Allen's career. His first assignment took him to Alaska with an exploring party in 1885-1886. He served subsequently as military attaché in Saint Petersburg (1890-1895) and Berlin (1897-1898), as Governor of Leyte in the Philippines (1901), and as a member of the Mexican Expedition (1916). General Allen led the 90th Division in World War I and was appointed Commander of the American Forces of Occupation on the Rhine. In 1928, having retired from military life, he was active in organizing veterans groups to support Alfred E. Smith in the presidential election.

The Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich papers have been more than doubled in size by a gift of about 5,000 pieces from his children. The new material dates from 1879 to 1906 and thus covers a large part of the period Mr. Aldrich served in Congress as Representative (1879-1881) and Senator (1881-1911) from Rhode Island. The Aldrich papers may be consulted only by special permission.

Microfilm copies of the following manuscripts in the Public Record Office in London are among recent additions to the Library's collection of foreign reproductions: 618 additional volumes of British embassy and consular correspondence, which complete the Library's holdings of class 115 of Foreign Office records through the year 1901; 20 volumes of miscellaneous materials, dated between 1783 and 1828, in class 6 of the records of the Board of Trade; all of class 12 (146 volumes) of Audit Office records, concerned with claims of American Loyalists; and 20 volumes of original correspondence of the Secretary of State, 1720-1761, and intercepted letters, 1775-1783, in class 5 of the Colonial Office records.

The library of Texas Southern University, Houston, has opened to scholars the Heartman Negro Collection. There are approximately 15,000 items in the collection, consisting of books, pamphlets, periodicals, maps, broadsides, documents, almanacs, lithographs, oil paintings, musical scores, clippings, cartoons, and various curios, dating from 1600 to 1955. The literature is not only devoted to the Negro in the United States; it contains information dealing with the background and development of the Negro in every section of the globe. At present, emphasis is placed on the historical, rather than the contemporary, aspect of the negro contribution to world progress and impact on world culture. The Library welcomes suggestions for new materials to be added to the collection.

The papers of Count Revilla-Gigedo, Spanish Viceroy of Mexico (1789-1794), have been given to the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. The collection, which contains much new source material on the history of the North American West, contains thirty-seven folio volumes, of which twelve are

monographs by explorers and scientists in government employ and twenty-five are the Viceroy's hitherto unedited and unpublished correspondence with the Spanish ministries. About 5,000 letters are in the collection, including some 220 about the Nootka Sound Controversy in the Pacific Northwest. Notable among the monographs is the unpublished diary of the leader of the Nootka Expedition of 1792, including drawings and maps, which was believed to be lost until now.

The Mills College Library, Oakland, California, recently acquired the Hitchcock-Coit collection of about 3,000 letters and fifty diaries extending from 1702 to 1929. The earliest papers are those of the James Hunter family in Virginia, including letters by James Monroe, James Madison, General Nathanael Greene, and Alexander Stephens, and Hunter's letter books, 1782-1787, with copies of his letters to Edmund Randolph, John Banks, Nathanael Greene, Edward Rutledge, and others. Among the curious items is a memorandum signed by Patrick Henry. The diaries of Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter describe the campaign against the Seminole Indians in Florida, 1839-1840. The papers of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Hitchcock deal with his service as a surgeon in the Mexican War and give observations of the Hitchcock family in California from 1850 to 1875. The papers of Lillie Hitchcock Coit, for whom the well-known tower overlooking San Francisco Bay is named, record her impressions from 1890 to 1911.

Mrs. E. P. Ellwood of DeKalb, Illinois, has given the archives and western history department of the University of Wyoming the records of the Isaac L. Ellwood Barbed Wire Companies, one of the first to sell barbed wire in the American West. The Ellwood records consist of 125 letter file boxes, 75 letter press books, 60 ledgers, and a large amount of unclassified correspondence.

The Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires has established a new division called Biblioteca y Publicaciones. The Archivo General already had an extensive library, to which have now been added the library of the historian, Dr. Ernesto H. Celesia, containing an extensive collection of documents and early Argentine periodicals and 30,000 volumes on the history of the Río de la Plata; the Archivo Gráfico, consisting not only of photographs and prints but also of motion picture films, tape recordings, and phonograph records pertaining to the history of Argentina; the Archivo de Tribunales, consisting of about 10,000 legajos; the Archivo de la ex-Secretaría de Asuntos Técnicos of approximately 800 legajos and 100 books; the Archivo de la Contaduría General de la Nación of 225 legajos covering the years 1860 to 1900; the Archivo del Ministerio del Interior comprising 1,128 legajos covering the presidencies of Mitre, Sarmiento, Avellaneda, Roca, Juárez Celman, Pellegrini, Luis Sáenz Peña, J. E. Uriburu, and many others.

A group of German scholars, of the Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, headed by Professor Helmut Kuhn, America Institute, University of Munich, is engaged in a fresh survey of American materials in German archives with a view to the

creation of a union catalogue at a German university. Interested American scholars may care to communicate with Professor Kuhn.

The National Park Service wishes to obtain material (contemporary maps, letters, diaries) relating to the First and Second Battles of Manassas (Bull Run). Communications should be sent to Francis F. Wilshin, Superintendent, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Virginia.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at Hunter College on February 1 and 2, 1957. Papers were presented by David L. Dowd, University of Florida; Elinor Barber, Radcliffe; George V. Taylor, University of North Carolina; Carl Lokke, National Archives; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Roger L. Williams, Antioch College; John Woodall, Salzburg Seminar; Henry W. Ehrmann, University of Colorado; Philip M. Williams, Oxford; Father de Bertier de Sauvigny, Institut Catholique de Paris; and Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University. The president of the Society, Professor Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College, and the vice-president, Father Joseph Moody of Notre Dame College of Staten Island, headed the arrangements committee. Professor Harold T. Parker of Duke University was elected president for the coming year and Professor James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina, vice-president. The next conference will be held in 1958 at Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Information about the Society may be obtained from the secretary-treasurer, Professor David H. Pinkney, 318 Jesse Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The eighth Southwest Conference, entitled "The Southwest and Mexico at Mid-Century," was held at Occidental College, March 22-23, to explore present problems of Mexico and the American Southwest in the light of the past. Dr. Enrique Beltrán, professor of biology at the University of Mexico and director of the Instituto Mexicano de Recursos Naturales Renovables, addressed a dinner meeting, speaking on the role of natural resources in Mexico's past and future. At luncheon, the architect Carlos Contreras spoke on urban growth and architecture. In the afternoon discussion, Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University; Howard F. Cline, director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress; and Paul Oppermann, director, Department of City Planning, City and County of San Francisco, discussed "Land and People: Growth and Vitality." These participants, with President Arthur G. Coons of Occidental College, later covered other aspects of past and present problems, dealing mostly with urbanization.

The Institute of Early American History sponsored during the week of April 8-12 a Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Colonial History. Participants were a group of fifteen visiting scholars and an equal number of scholars from the Williamsburg area. Discussions centered on "The Indian in Seventeenth Century America," based on papers by Wilcomb E. Washburn of the Institute and Nancy O. Lurie of the University of Michigan; "People and Classes," based on papers by

Mildred Campbell of Vassar College and Bernard Bailyn of Harvard; "Church and State," based on papers by Philip N. Haffenden of the University of Toronto, William H. Seiler of Kansas State Teachers College, and Emil Oberholzer, Jr., of the College of the City of New York; and "History in the Seventeenth Century," based on a paper by Richard S. Dunn of the University of Michigan. A final evening lecture, "The Place of the Seventeenth Century in the History of the United States," was presented by Oscar Handlin of Harvard University.

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the Harvard Faculty Club in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 27, 1957. The president of the Academy, Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia University, delivered an address, "Hunting 'Subversion' in the Middle Ages." Ernest Hatch Wilkins of Newton, Massachusetts, President Emeritus of Oberlin College, was elected new president. The Haskins Medal was awarded to Elias Avery Lowe of the Institute for Advanced Study for his *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. At the annual meeting of the Fellows, papers were read by Dr. Dimitri Obolensky of the University of Oxford, Visiting Professor of Russian History at Yale University; by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller, Columbia University; and by Joan Wake, Honorable Secretary of the Northamptonshire Record Society. Berthold Louis Ullman of the University of North Carolina was elected president of the Fellows.

A hundred historians attended the Upper Midwest History Conference, April 27, 1957, at the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, to hear the Very Reverend James P. Shannon, president of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, speak on "Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier."

At the fiftieth meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Lincoln, Nebraska, May 2-4, Wendell H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, was elected president and William Hutchinson, University of Chicago, vice-president. Papers read at the sessions will be summarized in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The fifty-first annual meeting will be held in Minneapolis.

The Society of American Archivists will hold its annual meeting in Columbus, Ohio, on Thursday and Friday, October 3 and 4, 1957. Headquarters for the Society's meetings will be located at the Deshler-Hilton Hotel. Mr. Erwin Zepp, director of the Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State Museum, is in charge of local arrangements.

American historians who have ideas concerning or who wish to present papers at the Stockholm International Congress of Historical Sciences should get in touch with Professor Donald McKay of Amherst College, the United States member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, or with the American Historical Association headquarters, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

The Ford Foundation has made a \$25 million appropriation for a large-scale extension and development of the National Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program, in an intensive, nationwide effort to combat the mounting shortage of teachers in the nation's colleges. The Foundation's action will support a broad program to attract able college students into the academic profession and will provide graduate fellowships to potential college teachers at the rate of one thousand a year for the next five years. Nominations for Woodrow Wilson Fellowships will be made by local faculty members, and selection will be made by regional committees and a national committee made up of active university and college faculty members. Individual awards, which will be applied to tuition and living expenses for the first year of graduate study, are expected to average \$2,200 and will require about \$11 million of the total appropriation. Another \$10 million will go to universities for aid to graduate students beyond the first year.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has announced the inauguration of an annual award of \$1,000 for an outstanding study of American history. The first award will be made in April, 1959, and the manuscript selected will be published by the University of Kentucky Press. Dates for submission of manuscripts for the first judging are June 1 through August 31, 1958. To be eligible for the award manuscripts must be not more than 100,000 words. For further information write to Dr. Chase C. Mooney, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington.

The Loubat Prizes, awarded by Columbia University in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America, are made at the close of every quinquennial period. The two awards are valued at \$1,200 and \$600. To be considered for the 1958 awards, books must be published before the first of that year. The competition is open to all persons whether connected with Columbia University or not and whether citizens of the United States or any other country. Communications and works submitted in competition should be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, by January 1, 1958. It is requested that four copies of each work submitted be furnished.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellows for 1957 include the following scholars in history and related fields: Arthur J. A. Anderson, Curator, History and Publications, Museum of New Mexico, Sante Fe, Aztec accounts of Spanish settlement in the Americas; Yury Arbatsky, New York City, Music and musical instruments, from pre-Hellenic times to the fall of Constantinople; Joseph Oscar Baylen, Delta State College, The life and career of W. T. Stead, 1876-1912; W. Burlie Brown, Tulane University, American architectural thought and expression, 1865-1914; Robert Vance Bruce, Boston University, The 1877 railroad strikes and labor riots in the United States; Rev. Ernest Joseph Burrus, St. Louis University,

Documents in Italian archives bearing on Latin American history; John Leonard Clive, Harvard University, Transition from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century thought and opinion in England; Joel Colton, Duke University, Léon Blum and French Socialism; Lawrence Arthur Cremin, Columbia University, History of American educational thought, 1880-1940; Curtis Dahl, Wheaton College, Nineteenth-century archaeological discoveries in relation to the cultural history of the West; Giorgio Diaz de Santillana, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Vincenzo Viviani, Galileo's scientific secretary; Durand Echeverria, Brown University, The meaning of liberty in French thought of the eighteenth century; Laura Fermi, Chicago, Life and times of Benito Mussolini; Sidney Fine, University of Michigan, Relationship between the National Recovery Administration and the automobile industry, 1933-1935; Louis L. Gerson, University of Connecticut, Impact of American immigrant groups on foreign policies of the United States; Howard Jay Graham, Los Angeles County Law Library, History of the Fourteenth Amendment; Donald Johnson Greene, University of California, Riverside, Relation between English literature and politics in the eighteenth century; Oscar Halecki, Fordham University, Contributions of the Slavic and East European nations to Western European culture; Paul Hoswell Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, Life and times of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; J. Jean Hecht, Haverford College, The upper class family in eighteenth-century England; Gertrude Himmelfarb, London, England, Development of Darwin's thought and of contemporary response to his work; Robert V. Hine, University of California, Riverside, Biographical studies of Edward, Richard, and Benjamin Kern, explorers of the American West, 1845-1863; Benjamin Beard Hoover, University of Washington, Relationship of literature and politics in eighteenth-century England; Herbert Hiram Hyman, Columbia University, Comparative study of public opinion on civil liberties in the United States and Great Britain; William Turrentine Jackson, University of California, Davis, British contributions to the development of the American West; Weymouth Tyree Jordan, Florida State University, Scientific agriculture in the Old South; Paul Oskar Kristeller, Columbia University, Philosophical and humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries; Aubrey Christian Land, University of Nebraska, The merchant-planter class of the Chesapeake colonies; Benno Landsberger, University of Chicago, Languages and cultures of the ancient Middle East; Waclaw Lednicki, University of California, Berkeley, Pre-Soviet cultural and political trends in Russia and Poland; Leonard William Levy, Brandeis University, Provisions against compulsory self-incrimination in Anglo-American law; Robert Alexander Lively, Princeton University, Herbert Hoover and American enterprise; Juan López-Morillas, Brown University, Intellectual history of modern Spain; Richard Lowitt, Connecticut College, Life and times of Senator George W. Norris; Paul Lachlan MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin, Roman colonization in the Republican period; George Makdisi, University of Michigan, History of Islamic socio-religious movements in the eleventh century; Frank Edward

Manuel, Brandeis University, Mythology and primitive religion in eighteenth-century thought; Arthur J. Marder, University of Hawaii, English seapower in the twentieth century; Juan Augusto López Marichal, Bryn Mawr College, Manuel Azaña, President of the Second Spanish Republic; John Thomas McNeill, Union Theological Seminary, Works of John Calvin; Redding Francis Perry, Alexandria, Virginia, History of the Second Armored Division in World War II; Bessie Louise Pierce, University of Chicago, History of the city of Chicago; Ernst Maximilian Posner, American University, History of archives administration; Marc Ræff, Clark University, The nobility's relationships to the Russian state, 1725-1861; Charles Frederick Rudolph, Williams College, History of higher education in the United States; Emanuel Sarkisyanz, Bishop College, Buddhist influence on Burmese social thought; Paul Frederick Sharp, University of Wisconsin, Influence of humanitarian sentiment upon public policy after the Civil War; Helen Clapesattle Shugg, Chicago, The part played by the search for health in westward migration in the United States; Walter M. Simon, Cornell University, History of European positivism in the nineteenth century; Alice Elizabeth Smith, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Scottish leadership and capital in the development of the lower Lake Michigan area in the nineteenth century; Watt Stewart, State College for Teachers, Albany, New York, Business activities of Minor Cooper Keith in Costa Rica; Samuel Edmund Thorne, Harvard University, Bracton in the history of English law; George Brown Tindall, Louisiana State University, History of the South, 1913-1946; John Chalmers Vinson, University of Georgia, The United States Senate and American foreign policy, 1931-1941; Klemens von Klemperer, Smith College, Alternatives to the Anschluss in Austria; Arthur Vööbus, Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, Syrian monasticism from the second to the fifth century, A.D.; Bell Irvin Wiley, Emory University, Studies toward a history of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865; Marvin Eugene Wolfgang, Florentine contributions to the history and philosophy of punishment for crime; Herbert Chayyim Youtie, University of Michigan, Scholarly use of papyrological literature.

The 1957 Pulitzer Prize in History, awarded by Columbia University, was received by George F. Kennan, for his book *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton, N. J., 1956; see rev. in *AHR*, LXII [January, 1957], 367). Mr. Kennan is presently a member of the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

A new organization, a Committee on the History of Social Welfare, has developed from the interest crystallized by Professor Karl de Schweinitz' paper at the 1956 meeting of the Council of Social Work Education (published in the *Social Service Review*, June, 1956). An interdisciplinary group, composed of social workers and historians, the Committee's purposes relate to the teaching of social welfare history and to the encouragement and facilitating of historical research as a means to broaden and deepen the understanding of the backgrounds of social welfare and social work. The Committee's first activities include publica-

tion of an informational bulletin for the membership and sponsorship of a workshop at the 1957 Council of Social Work Education meeting in Los Angeles. For the present the Committee expects to maintain an independent identity and to seek close relationships with the CSWE, National Association of Social Workers, and American Historical Association. Membership is open to all interested persons. Annual dues are \$2.50. Complete information may be secured from the secretary-treasurer, Dr. Ralph E. Pumphrey, Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

The Saint Louis University Library announces the publication of *Manuscripta*, a new scholarly journal of a general nature in the humanities and history. Feature articles will make available information about and descriptions of Vatican Library manuscripts and their use, indexes, contents, etc., as well as a listing of the codices available for consultation at the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library. Correspondence should be directed to *Manuscripta*, Saint Louis University Library, Saint Louis 3, Missouri.

According to a National Education Association *Research Bulletin* (October, 1956), the salaries for instructional staff paid in universities, colleges, and junior colleges vary widely, from less than \$2,400 to more than \$18,000. In all colleges and universities the median salary in 1955-1956, for nine months, for professors was \$7,076, for associate professors, \$5,731, for assistant professors, \$4,921, and for instructors, \$4,087. For all ranks combined the median salary was \$5,243.

In the interest of ascertaining the extent to which the land-grant colleges and universities have made requirements with respect to training for American citizenship through courses in American history and/or American political institutions, Professor S. George Ellsworth of the Utah State Agricultural College directed a letter (dated November 10, 1954) to the presidents of the fifty land-grant colleges and universities of the United States asking for answers to the following questions: (1) Does your institution require of all its graduates courses in American history and/or American political institutions? If so, what are the provisions? Is it by state or college ruling? (2) What is the place of (a) history and (b) political science in your curriculum (with respect to which all students are expected to participate)—in "group requirements" or in the "humanities" or in a "general education" program? Of the fifty institutions surveyed, forty-five replied more or less in full.

Thirteen institutions at present require courses in American history and thirteen require courses in American political institutions for graduation, while a fourteenth is studying its offerings to meet a recently enacted law requiring one course in government. Requirements vary widely, from no college course (high school course satisfies the requirement) to a year program including six semester hours of history and three of government. The requirement may be met (in two

institutions) by examination, or (in one instance) by a high school course. Possibly in only three cases is it a college and not a state requirement.

Of the thirty-two other institutions replying negatively to the graduation requirement, the survey showed a wide divergence of practice in placing the subjects in the curricula. About twelve institutions replied that these subjects were required by a greater percentage of all curricula or were taken by large numbers if not the majority of students; four estimated that "many" or a majority of all curricula required these courses or that a similar ratio of students took them as electives. It would appear that in about twenty-five of these thirty-two institutions these courses are either required of nearly all or are taken by nearly all or at least a majority of students. Sixteen other institutions answered that the subjects are required in only some of the divisions of the college, or were taken by a relatively small number of students. In about a third of the thirty-two cases, the subjects are among those satisfying group or general education requirements.

Several institutions stated that the subject was one of concern and was being studied in the expectation of reaching a new solution. Some said that a well-reasoned decision as to the place of these subjects in the curricula had been reached.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Boston University: Thomas W. Palmer, Jr., appointed associate professor, Ernest M. Law, assistant professor. *Bryn Mawr College*: Helen Taft Manning has retired with the rank of professor emeritus. *University of Chicago*: Val Lorwin on leave of absence for 1957-58 to go to Belgium on an SSRC grant to study political parties and trade unions; in the fall of 1958 he will return to a professorship at the University of Oregon. *Chicago Teachers College*: John M. Pfau appointed assistant dean in charge of the new Foreman Branch of the college. *University of Colorado*: Daniel Malloy Smith appointed assistant professor. *Colorado College* (Colorado Springs): Harvey L. Carter designated John and Harriet Parker Campbell Professor of American History; Paul P. Bernard promoted to assistant professor; Donald P. Greene, of Indiana University, appointed instructor to succeed Earland I. Carlson, who has been named dean of North Park College, Chicago, Illinois; Carroll B. Malone on a two-year appointment as professor in Tunghai University, Taiwan.

Columbia University: Ihor Sevcenko, of the department of Slavic languages and literature, University of Michigan, appointed associate professor. *Emory University*: S. Walter Martin, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Georgia, named president of the university. *Gallaudet College* (Washington, D. C.): Kurt Beermann appointed assistant professor. *Hamilton College*:

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

David M. Ellis promoted to professor. *Harpur College* (Endicott, New York): Sidney S. Harcave promoted to professor; Robert N. McLarty appointed assistant professor. *Hunter College*: Pearl Kibre promoted to professor, Douglas Maynard to assistant professor. *University of Notre Dame*: Marshall Smelser promoted to professor.

Occidental College: Raymond E. Lindgren promoted to professor, Andrew F. Rolle to associate professor. *Pomona College*: John W. Wilkes appointed assistant professor. *Thiel College* (Greenville, Pennsylvania): Frederick M. Binder promoted to professor, Robert S. Cope to associate professor. *University of Virginia*: Harry Cranbrook Allen, Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History, University of London, appointed visiting research professor for the fall semester, 1957-58; Allen W. Moger, of Washington and Lee University, appointed part-time professor for 1957-58; David Alan Williams, of Queen's College, North Carolina, and Paul M. Gaston, of the University of North Carolina, appointed instructors; Edward Younger on leave for 1957-58 to fill a Fulbright appointment to Allahabad University, India. *Wayne State University*: Milton Covensky, C. Norman Guice, and Richard Miles promoted to associate professors; Franklin Wallin appointed assistant professor. *University of Wisconsin*: J. D. Fage, chairman of the department of history, University College, Gold Coast, named British Commonwealth visiting professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Josep Puig i Cadafalch, president of the Secció Històrico-Arqueològica of L'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, died December 23, 1956.

Ralph H. Records, former professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, died on January 4, 1957, at the age of sixty-eight. Professor Records received his A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Oklahoma in 1922 and 1923 respectively, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1936. He began teaching at the University of Oklahoma in 1926, where he remained until the fall of 1945 when he suffered a stroke. Although his major interest was historiography, he taught a wide range of subjects and published articles on various phases of the Western frontier.

Nils Ahnlund, the noted Swedish historian, died January 11, 1957, at the age of sixty-seven. Professor at Stockholm Höghskola, 1928-55, Ahnlund was a vigorous scholar who helped, particularly in work dealing with the great political and military figures of Sweden's seventeenth century, to maintain in Swedish historiography that painstaking attention to detail which so characterizes it. He made his greatest mark, however, as editor of the *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1937-49, as member or head of numerous societies and commissions in and out of the academic world, and as an untiring contributor to *Svenska Dagbladet* and other newspapers and periodicals. A man of firm opinions and a strong dedication, religious as well as secular, Ahnlund took a lively interest in both public and

academic affairs and contributed, in indefatigable fashion, to the normal Scandinavian intertwining of the two. At the height of his activity and influence he won many honors—culminating in 1941 with membership in the Academy. In 1956 he concluded his career with the publication of *Tradition och historia*, a useful selection from his scholarly work.

Georg Wittrock, long a professor at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, died January 12, 1957, at the age of eighty-one. Professor Wittrock was best known for his excellent work on mid-seventeenth-century Sweden.

Mrs. Natalia Goraynoff Summers died January 31, 1957, at the United States Naval Hospital, Yokosuka, Japan. She was the widow of Maddin Summers, United States Consul General at Moscow, and the mother of the present United States Consul General at Yokohama, Lionel M. Summers. Mrs. Summers is warmly remembered by many scholars whom she assisted in historical researches when she served as Archivist of the Department of State, from 1926 to 1938, and in the National Archives State Department records until her retirement in 1948. Always imbued with a devoted interest in the organization and contents of the State Department records, she went out of her way to assist the historian, particularly to help young men and women who were first orienting themselves in those important records. Mrs. Summers prepared a valuable list of documents related to special agents of the Department of State, from 1789 to 1906, published by the National Archives as Number 7 of its *Special Lists* of principal records. The profession has lost a devoted and conscientious public servant and friend to historical workers.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor in the Harvard Law School since 1916, died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 8, 1957. A graduate of Brown University (1907) and of the Harvard Law School (1913), Professor Chafee had honorary degrees from Brown, Colby, Chicago, and Boston Universities. In the fields of history and political science he is best known for his classic *Freedom of Speech* (1920); *The Inquiring Mind* (1928); *How Human Rights Got into the Constitution* (1952); and *Documents on Fundamental Human Rights* (1954). With Samuel Eliot Morison he edited *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680*, and wrote the masterly introduction pointing out the significance of these records in the history of American colonial law. He had great influence throughout the country, and also on the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, in defending the traditions and charters of human liberty. Thus he was once denounced as one of the "seven most dangerous men in America." Professor Chafee served many scholarly causes, among them that of legal history. He was a member of the American Historical Association and long active on its Littleton-Griswold Committee on Legal History.

Miron Burgin, chief of the State Department's Research Division for American Republics, died March 13, 1957, at the age of fifty-six. Burgin was born in

Warsaw, Poland, and studied at the Faculty of Law and Political Science in the city university there. After coming to this country, he continued his education at Harvard University, where he received his B.S. in 1929 and his Ph.D. in 1941. Burgin worked for the Harvard Bureau of Research in Latin America in 1933 and continued to write articles and reviews in that field. He was at one time editor of *Economic Literature of Latin America* and *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*. His book, *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820-52* (1946), was hailed as a major contribution to the field of South American history. He entered the State Department in 1948 and was named chief of the Latin American research division in 1949.

Henry E. Sigerist, who was for some fifteen years director of the Institute of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, died at his home in Pura, Ticino, Switzerland, on March 17, 1957. Dr. Sigerist was born in Paris on April 7, 1891. He attended a gymnasium in Zurich and originally planned to become a classicist, but subsequently he became interested in medicine and obtained an M.D. degree at the University of Zurich in 1917. He also studied the social sciences at the University of London and combined his historical, sociological, and medical interests in devoting himself to the history of medicine. He lectured in this field at Zurich, 1921-23, and then served as director of the Institute of Medical History at Leipzig, 1925-32.

In 1932 Dr. Sigerist accepted the directorship of the Hopkins Institute, succeeding Dr. William H. Welch. From then until 1947, when he returned to Switzerland, Sigerist exerted a most stimulating influence on medical history in this country. He promoted high standards in the field and an appreciation of its social as well as its scientific aspects. Active and versatile, he reorganized the American Association of the History of Medicine and founded, as its organ, the present *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. He lectured both here and abroad and was as well known in relation to the problems of medical care as in connection with medical history proper. His many books and papers had a wide appeal, in part because of an unusual clarity and simplicity of style. In Dr. Sigerist's death, the world loses one of the outstanding medical historians of the present century.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Zagorin's concern (*AHR*, October, 1956, pp. 1-11) over Becker's "skeptical fallacy" may be accounted so much playing with words by many historians who are engrossed in their own area of specialization. This is another round in the argument between theorist and skeptic, with touché again going to the skeptic, Professor Gershoy in this case.

Before theorist and skeptic again go their separate ways, I should like to pro-

pose an exercise in perspective, namely, a reversing of roles, by which we might throw some new light on the historical process—if there is one. While those whose inclination is to say hopefully with Zagorin that history is “not unknowable” stand by “infected with skeptical doubts,” let those whose inclination is to cheer Gershoy’s defense of skepticism make a try at “knowing” history. Let them take on, temporarily, the uncongenial hypothesis with which the theorists begin—there is a true, coherent, and explicable historical process at work in this world—then with uncharacteristic temerity set down its main outlines.

“But impossible,” the reply will be. “We cannot in good historian’s conscience start from such an assumption or make such an attempt. There are a thousand reasons why: not only the unknown, but our prejudices, our environment; we are nationals of a particular country, products of a single civilization, specialists in a small segment of history. Even if we were thoroughly versed in all historical fields, a dozen other branches of knowledge impinge upon the subject. Even if the facts were there, our spectacles are hopelessly colored. Look at Toynbee’s ten volumes of beautifully written ‘theoretical fallacy.’ Perhaps in a hundred years. . . .”

But those who answer this way are the ones to try. Business men have given us the methodological key in their “let’s-hear-your-idea-no-matter-how-crazy-it-is” sessions, where criticism, including self-criticism, is reserved for later. And for those who plead they do not have the time, let the exercise be limited not to ten volumes but to ten pages.

Having set up this proposition, it is only fair that this reader, an inveterate scoffer at historical systems, might try out the hypothesis: “There is a true, coherent, and explicable historical process at work in this world.” This may be built around something like *problem sets*. As to the origin of these problem sets, suffice it to say that the force which originated them would be the same one which set the human brain to thinking about them. Perhaps the human race encounters four main problem sets, which are interrelated but distinguishable.

Problem set #1—“Physical Science,” from primitive agriculture to advanced engineering, physics and medicine, including economics of production. Cold, heat, hunger, and disease cause man discomfort. However, in the ground, sea, and air of this globe called Earth are resources which, if discovered and utilized, will enable him to attain material and physical well-being. These resources are hidden, some in easily discovered places (apples in trees), but others are literally imbedded in illusions (oil in underground lakes in seemingly desolate areas, electricity in waterfalls, energy in atoms, and certainly much more). The objective is their discovery and utilization. Not until recently have anything but hit or miss methods been applied to this, though gradually the realization that there are discoverable secrets of inestimable possibility has dawned, and men are organizing the search.

Problem set #2—“Social Science,” from primitive family and clan politics to world political systemizing, including economics of distribution. If men fight they hurt each other but if, on the contrary, they do not fight but help each other, they can move forward much more rapidly to physical and material well-being. The objective is to find how to keep from fighting. But why has it been so difficult? This is because there are several built-in illusions in the social as in the physical world, illusions which have taken centuries to identify, e.g., that one section of mankind can prosper at the expense of another, that skin color is a real differential. Man has made some progress in solving these in “in groups” of broadening dimension, but he is just beginning to discover that the whole human race is in reality an “in group.” The illusions are what make the problem, just as the fact that the physical resources are hidden makes their discovery a problem.

Problem set #3—"Humanities," from child's play to great literature and art. The objective may be defined simply as "discovering the joy of living," though this is a very subtle proposition. Whereas finding the way to physical and material well-being and social amiability may constitute the "serious business" of the human race, the beauty of the world itself provides a first reminder to the observant that "serious business" must be kept in perspective. And the fact that human difficulties and frailties can become "joy" in the theater suggests that the "light touch" is indeed the light which, brought into focus, can illuminate the serious problems, #1 and #2.

Problem set #4—"Mental Science," philosophy, psychology, religion, metaphysics. Here man attempts to discover the method of instruction. He has been singularly dogmatic on this most elusive subject, which, since it concerns his relation to the mechanism of the universe, may require the mastery of the first three problem sets as the final key to its solution. Certain observations, however, may be made. The fact that resources are so ingeniously hidden and that our horizons are literally bound up in illusions (e.g., the world is flat) until we move around and get new angles and perspectives suggests immediately that the problem solving is of the "do it yourself" variety. And the fact that a person may take his own life or kill another should be clear enough indication that the will is free. Let philosophy rest here. Psychology, however, has discovered that certain basic urges compel, or at least propel, him to become involved in the problem. Urges to relieve discomfort, to reproduce, and to play (see Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*) cause him to give his attention to problems #1, #2, and #3 respectively, though they do not guarantee that he will solve them or even define them (hence no "laws" of history). In addition, religion has vehemently attested that mankind is favored occasionally with what we call revelations, enlightenment, *satori*, flashes of insight received by various individuals—Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Paul, Zoroaster, Bodhidharma, Mani, Mohammed, Nanak, George Fox, Joseph Smith, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan of the T'ai-p'ings, Choi of the Tong Haks, and perhaps hundreds of unknowns. How do we account for these? Are they merely prevarications or imaginings? Some weight must be given the possibility that they are not, that they represent, shall we say, "hints," imperfectly understood by individuals standing in the context of their own place, time, and limited knowledge of the world, and garbled by followers with a penchant for associating "revealed truths" with their own group—but hints, nevertheless, which give man encouragement that the unseen force behind his problems has some interest in his progress and which at the same time help him toward the broad perspective necessary for their solution.

History, then, is the record of man's efforts to define and solve the multitude of problems which constitute the subsections of these problem sets.

Preposterous? But if Zagorin is right, if history is "knowable," why should we assume we are *unable* to see its main outlines. If some of the "tough-minded," whose inclination is to batter rather than build theories, made a try, we might get further than we think.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

John K. Fairbank's article on "East Asian Views of Modern European History" made me conscious of many sins of omission and commission arising out of ignorance of the Far East and its history. I believe Mr. Fairbank's point is well taken and I, for one, intend to fill in these lacunae which are so very serious and

potentially dangerous in the "one world" (or at least two) in which we find ourselves today.

And yet I feel compelled to take issue not so much with Mr. Fairbank's *ipsissima verba* as with the general implications which could be drawn from them and which might lead to a serious distortion of emphasis in the historical studies carried on in this country if realized in fact. He says, in the April, 1957, issue of the *American Historical Review*, page 536, "It is a disquieting symptom that while we have no 'European specialists' in America who are called by that name, one still hears of 'Far Eastern specialists' among us." As one "European specialist" who has never been called by that name I may perhaps be accused of European "historicism" (also under attack in review of a book on page 595 of the same issue) if I object, on historical grounds, to basic assumptions upon which Mr. Fairbank's statement rests.

There are very good historical reasons why American historians have never coined such a term as "European specialist" and why they have used for so long the term "Far Eastern specialist." Can we place American culture at equal distance from the culture of the Far East and of Europe? How many people out of the total population of the Americas today speak a non-European language as their vernacular? What have been the relative importance of British and Chinese ideas of government in forming the government of the United States? To what results do we come when we compare the relative significance of Confucianism and Catholicism south of the Rio Grande? The story of United States immigration and its restrictions would also not be lacking in significance in this connection.

Let us not be blinded by the existence of geographical features and distances to the realities of world population distribution. Europe is actually on the same land mass (one might almost say continent) with the Far East and we are separated by an ocean from it. Does that mean so much? If we compare Peiping, London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne or Shanghai, Madrid, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires do not the cities in each list fall naturally into *two* groups? But we should perhaps all renounce our ill-gotten colonial gains, give the land back to the Indians, and return to Europe as quickly as possible.

The Americas, as well as Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (as well as Siberia) are colonial daughters of Europe and its civilization. They are the result of the last and greatest *Völkerwanderung* of the European peoples. Of all these various colonial daughters the United States is today the most significant and has come nearest to making out of the various New Englands, New Netherlands, and new little Irelands, Germanies, Swedens, Italies, and Polands a united New Europe across the sea from the Old. That non-European elements also have had their proportionate share in the creation of this *Magna Europa* no one would wish to deny. Nevertheless, it is the languages, the religion, and the governmental, social, and economic forms ultimately derived from Europe that have prevailed everywhere in the New World. Or would one seriously argue that to gain an understanding, for example, of the American religious scene of 1957 the study of religion in sixteenth-century China or even among the American Indians would be as valuable as the study of it in sixteenth-century Europe?

In view of such considerations it seems quite natural that no one had up to now in America ever become conscious of any necessity for coining such a term as "European specialist" to designate a historian who has as his chief specialization the study of what is, after all, basically the original source of the civilization of his own country.

May we by all means have our "Far Eastern specialists" and may we fill in

these dangerous gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the history of those areas now so important for the future of our country and of our civilization, especially since the world is becoming an ever smaller and more crowded place. May such studies, however, never lead us to forget from which direction of the compass the *Santa Maria* and the *Plymouth* approached these shores. It is this type of forgetfulness of the past which leads in the next generation to ignorance of it. But it is against such forgetfulness, as well as ignorance, misinterpretation, and misunderstanding of the past that historians have developed, especially since Ranke, the science of historical research and method and have practiced the art of interpreting history.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

HEINZ MACKENSEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The old Chinese saying, *chih-chi chih-pi pai-chan pai-sheng*, if translated in the Confucius-say style, reads: "Understand yourself, understand the other fellow; in one hundred battles, win one hundred victories."

I am all for Heinz Mackensen's demand that we keep on with the effort to understand ourselves through study of our own past. To it we must add the further effort to understand, through study of their past, the peoples of the non-Western world.

Out of both efforts combined we may get a better grasp of our own place in history. This is a task for every historian, not for Asia specialists alone.

Harvard University

J. K. FAIRBANK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I will appreciate it if you allow me space to support some conclusions in my recent book, *History of American Technology*, which the reviewer, Professor Louis C. Hunter, described as "confusing when not misleading" (*American Historical Review*, LXII [January, 1957], 400-401). He was referring to my summary in the chapter entitled "Technology in the Civil War." I state (p. 291) that breech-loading rifles, artillery guns, and rifled cannon were used and that "both sides pioneered in introducing machine guns, armored cars, surface torpedo boats, and submarines."

I cannot understand how such a statement can be confusing; but to say it is misleading, that I can't take. Regarding the use of breech-loading arms, see Charles B. Norton, *American Inventions and Improvements in Breechloading Small Arms* (1880), and Brigadier General A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, *Report to Secretary of War Stanton, Dec. 5, 1864*. Rifled cannon were in production at Cold Springs Foundry at West Point as early as 1861. The famous Parrot rifle, a 200-pound "Swamp-Angel" was used effectively throughout the war. The Williams machine gun, weighing 275 pounds, capable of firing forty shots a minute, drawn by one horse and operated by three men, was first used in the Battle of Seven Pines (1862). Six of these guns were used in the Battle of Blue Springs, Tennessee, October 10, 1863. See F. T. Allen's "Breechloading Cannon in the Confederate Army," *Journal of the Military Service Institute of the United States*, XLIV (1909), 441-43. Regarding the Gatling machine gun, see George Fort Milton's article, "Dr. Gatling and His Humanitarian Gun," *Technology Review*, XLV (June, 1943), 426.

Regarding armored railroad cars, consult such works as Edwin A. Pratt, *The*

Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest (1916); Festus P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War* (1939); Thomas Weber, *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War* (1952); and George Edgar Turner, *Victory Rode the Rails* (1953), to learn how extensively they were used. And for the introduction of submarines and torpedo boats, see Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Submarine and the Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy," *Harper's*, CXXXIII (June, 1916), 131-37; Katherine Prentice, "The Confederate Mines, 1862-1865," *Magazine of History*, IX (January, 1909), 13-16; Hunter Davidson's "Mines and Torpedoes during the Rebellion," *Magazine of History*, VIII (November, 1906), 255-61. Also see O.R.N. Series I, Vol. XV, p. 21 and O.R.N. Series I, Vol. VII, p. 447, and L. H. Bolander, "The Alligator, First Federal Submarine of the Civil War," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXIV (1938), 846-47. Conclusions arrived at from these and dozens of other references can hardly be called "misleading."

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The words "confusing when not misleading" used in my review of Professor Oliver's *History of American Technology* have no reference to the comment upon Civil War armament in the sentence that follows, which reads: "Many will be surprised to learn that during the Civil War: 'Improved breechloading rifles for the infantry, and accurate artillery guns and rifled cannon came into general use. . . . Both sides pioneered in introducing machine guns, armored cars, surface torpedo boats, and submarines.'" It is only necessary to remark here that while breech-loading carbines became the standard arm of the cavalry, the vast majority of the infantry fought with muzzle-loading rifles, mostly of the Springfield and Enfield types. (See H. T. Miller, *The Procurement of Small Arms by the Federal Government during the Civil War* [M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1931], tables on pp. 177-78.) It is debatable whether the employment of a few dozen "coffee mill" or other predecessors of the twentieth-century machine gun constituted "introduction" in any significant sense.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

LOUIS C. HUNTER

Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume LXII

The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books reviewed are indexed under author, title (titles including individual's names are indexed by last name), subject, and reviewer. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R).

- Abt, Wilhelm (ed.), "Felix Staehelin: Reden und Vorträge," 181.
- "Acceptance of Histories: Toward a Perspective for Social Science," by Bock, 173.
- Ackerknecht, E. H. (R), 179.
- Adair, E. R. (R), 254.
- Adams, Eleanor B., and Chavez, Fray Angelico (tr.), "The Missions of New Mexico, 1776," 261.
- Adams, Henry: Wasser, "The Scientific Thought of Henry Adams," 1012; Preuschen, "Das Problem der 'Unity' und 'Multiplicity' in seiner literarischen Gestaltung bei Henry Adams," 425.
- Adams, Norma (R), 438.
- Adcock, F. E., "Caesar as Man of Letters," 180.
- Adelson, H. L. (R), 183.
- "Administration of War Production," by Scott and Hughes, 901.
- "Advance Agents of American Destiny," by Nichols, 699.
- "Affaire de famille au XIX^e siècle: Méquillet-Noblot," by Fohlen, 204.
- "Afhandlingler Tilegnede Arkivmanden og Historikeren Rigsarkivar, Dr. Phil Axel Linvald af Nordiske Fagfæller På Halvfjerdsårsdagen 28. Januar 1956," ed. by Hvidtfeldt and Jørgensen, 210.
- "Age of Fighting Sail: The Story of the Naval War of 1812," by Forester, 477.
- "Agincourt War: A Military History of the Latter Part of the Hundred Years War from 1369 to 1453," by Burne, 665.
- "Agitateur au XVII^e siècle: Le Cardinal de Retz," by Lorris, 449.
- Agnew, T. L. (R), 475.
- "Agriculture," by Murray, 901.
- Aguilera, Francisco (ed.), "Handbook of Latin American Studies, 1952," 259; *id.* and Brown, Elsie (eds.), "Handbook of Latin American Studies, 1950," 498.
- Ahnlund, Nils, deceased, 1053.
- "Air War against Germany and Italy, 1939-1943," by Herington, 199.
- Albertini, Rudolf von, "Das florentinische Staatsbewusstsein im Übergang von der Republik zum Prinzipat," 909.
- Albion, R. G. (R), 706.
- Albrecht-Carrié, René (R), 218.
- Albright, W. F. (R), 103; communication, 805.
- Alden, J. R. (R), 637, 1007.
- Alderson, A. D., "Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty," 365.
- Aldridge, A. O., "Franklin and His French Contemporaries," 1007.
- Alexander, T. B., "Thomas A. R. Nelson of East Tennessee," 721.
- Alexander the Great: Cary, "The Medieval Alexander," 376; Robinson, *The Extraordinary Ideas of Alexander the Great*, 325-44.
- "Alexandre III: Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre," by Pacaut, 380.
- Alfieri, Dino, "Dictators Face to Face," 462.
- "Alfred the Great," by Duckett, 607.
- Alsop, E. B. (ed.), "The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1956," 1013.
- Althelm, Franz, *et al.*, "Frühes Mittelalter," 895.

- Alyea, P. E. and Blanche R., "Fairhope, 1854-1954: The Story of a Single Tax Colony," 707.
- "American Catholicism," by Ellis, 401.
- American Council of Learned Societies, 796.
- American Historical Association: 1956 annual dinner, 771; 1956 annual meeting, 740-74; 1957 annual meeting, 790, 1043; award of prizes, 771; 1956 business meeting, 788-90; 1956 council meeting, 781-88; new headquarters, 272, 512; new prize, 790; 1957 Nominating Committee, 790; report of executive secretary and managing editor, 774-81.
- American history. *See* Canada; Latin American history; United States history.
- "American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909," by Rolle, 724.
- "American Life in Autobiography: A Descriptive Guide," by Lillard, 474.
- "American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind," by Bode, 409.
- American Numismatic Society, 515.
- "American Paradox: The Conflict of Thought and Action," by Curti, 231.
- "American Railroad Network, 1861-1890," by Taylor and Neu, 705.
- American Revolutionary War: Morgan, "The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89," 637; Scheer and Rankin, "Rebels and Redcoats," 1007; Smith, "James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798," 146; Uhlendorf, tr., "Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister," 932.
- American Society for Engineering Education, 514.
- "America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920: A Study of National Policy," by Unterberger, 175.
- Ames, Susie M. (ed.), "County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640," 249.
- Amsler, Jean, "Histoire universelle des explorations, II, La Renaissance (1415-1600)," 887.
- Anastos, Milton (R), 426.
- "Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition," by Solomon, 718.
- Ancient history: book reviews, 102-108, 371-73, 892-95; notices and lists of articles, 178-83, 431-34, 655-60, 956-58.
- "Ancient Italy: A Study of the Interrelations of Its Peoples as Shown in Their Arts," by Richter, 104.
- "Ancient Mycenae: The Capital City of Agamemnon," by Mylonas, 892.
- Anderson, A. J. O., and Dibble, C. E. (tr.), "Florentine Codex, Bk. XII, The Conquest of Mexico," 1032.
- Andersson, Ingvar, "A History of Sweden," 456.
- Andressohn, J. C. (R), 661.
- Andrewes, A., "The Greek Tyrants," 431.
- "Andrews, Charles McLean: A Study in American Historical Writing," by Eisenstadt, 711.
- Andrus, J. R. (R), 1002.
- Angle, P. M. (R), 478.
- Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 515.
- "Anglo-American Tradition in Foreign Affairs: Readings from Thomas More to Woodrow Wilson," ed. by Wolfers and Martin, 428.
- Appointments and staff changes, 282-86, 519-22, 798, 1052-53.
- "Apostle of Liberty: A Life of Lafayette," by La Fuye and Babeau, tr. by Hyams, 677.
- "Approach to Self-Government," by Jennings, 966.
- Aragonnès, Claude, "Lincoln, héros d'un peuple," 235.
- "Argentine Upheaval: Perón's Fall and the New Regime," by Whitaker, 503.
- "Arkansas, The Territorial Papers of," 253.
- "Armonias y conflictos en torno a Cuba," by Santovenia, 650.
- "Arms and Men: A Study in American Military History," by Millis, 925.
- Aragon, R. F. (R), 375, 436.
- Art and archaeology: Childe, "Piecing together the Past," 178; Harden, ed., "Dark-Age Britain," 375; Mylonas, "Ancient Mycenae: The Capital City of Agamemnon," 892; Richter, "Ancient Italy: A Study of the Interrelations of Its Peoples as Shown in Their Arts," 104; Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," 372; Wainwright, ed., "The Problem of the Picts," 435; Wiseman, "Roman Spain: An Introduction to the Roman Antiquities of Spain and Portugal," 657. *See also* Numismatics.
- Artz, F. B. (R), 388.
- "As They Saw Forrest: Some Recollections

- and Comments of Contemporaries," ed. by Henry, 491.
- Askew, W. C. (R), 462, 986.
- "Aspects de la crise et de la depression de l'économie française au milieu de XIX^e siècle, 1846-1851," 131.
- Assistance Available for Post-Doctoral Historical Research and Publication*, by Wade, 570-93.
- Assistant Editor's Note, 289.
- Athearn, R. G., "William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West," 945; (R), 255.
- Atherton, Lewis (R), 642.
- Atkinson, J. H. (R), 253.
- "Atlantic Battle Won, May, 1943-May, 1945," by Morison, 481.
- "Atlas of Western Civilization," by Van Der Meer, 426.
- Auboyer, Jeannine, and Aymard, A., "Rome et son Empire," 105.
- "Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie," by Bracher, 620.
- "Aufstieg Europas," by Devoto, *et al.*, 893.
- "Australia in the War of 1939-1945," Ser. III, III, by Herington, 199.
- "Australian Colonial Policy: A Survey of Native Administration and European Development in Papua," by Legge, 967.
- Austria. *See* Germany, Austria, Switzerland.
- Awards: American Historical Association prizes, 512; Committee on International Exchange of Persons of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 278; Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, 518; Ford Foundation, 280; James V. Forrestal Fellowship in Naval History, 281; Guggenheim Fellows for 1957, 1048; Henry E. Huntington Library, 281; Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, 518; Loubat Prizes, 1048; Mississippi Valley Historical Association new annual award, 1048; Pulitzer Prize in History, 1050; Rockefeller Foundation, 518; Henry and Ida Schuman history of science prize, 519; Social Science Research Council, 279; Society of American Historians Francis Parkman Prize, 519; Moses Coit Tyler Prize, 790; Wade, *Assistance Available for Post-Doctoral Historical Research and Publication*, 570-93. *See also* Grants.
- Aydelotte, W. O. (R), 898.
- Aymard, André, and Auboyer, J., "Rome et son Empire," 105.
- Babeau, Emile, and La Fuye, Maurice de, "The Apostle of Liberty: A Life of Lafayette," 677.
- "Babylonian Laws," II, ed. by Driver and Miles, 178.
- Backus, O. P. (R), 114.
- Bagge, Povl (ed.), "Excerpta Historica Nordica," 211.
- Bailey, T. A. (R), 480.
- Bainton, R. H. (R), 612.
- "Baker's Dozen: Thirteen Unusual Americans," by Nye, 1004.
- Baldwin, A. W., "My Father: The True Story," 195.
- Baldwin, M. W. (R), 379.
- "Balkans in Our Time," by Wolff, 141.
- Balon, Joseph, "Les fondements du régime foncier au moyen âge," 608.
- Baltzly, Alexander (R), 691.
- Bamford, P. W., "Forests and French Sea Power, 1660-1789," 618.
- Bancroft, Eleanor A., deceased, 525.
- "Banners in the Wilderness: Early Years of Washington and Jefferson College," by Coleman, 489.
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 Fisher, S. N. (R), 996.
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- Kelso, Ruth, "Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance," 381.
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- Kinsey, W. C., lists of articles, 209-10, 455.
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- Koehl, Robert (R), 429, 687.
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- Krieger, Leonard (R), 602.
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- Lambert, O. D., "Stephen Benton Elkins," 236.
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- Landes, D. S. (R), 388.
- Langer, W. L. (R), 100, 366.
- Langsam, W. C. (R), 427.
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- Lear, F. S. (R), 111.
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- Leeds, E. T. *See* Harden, D. B.
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 Lovell, C. R. (R), 198.
 Low, A. D. (R), 459.
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 Lyon, Bryce (R), 373, 606.
 McAlister, L. N. (R), 424.
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 McAvoy, T. T. (R), 233.
 McCaffrey, L. J. (R), 968.
 McClellan, George B., Jr. *See* Syrett, H. C.
 McClurkin, R. J. G., deceased, 286.
 McCormick, R. P. (R), 245.
 McCulloch, S. C. (R), 199.
 McCully, B. T. (R), 489.
 "Macdonald, John A.: The Old Chieftain," by Creighton, 165.
 McFarland, M. W. (R), 199.
 McGowan, J. A. (R), 1027.
 McGrew, R. E. (R), 685.
 McKay, Vernon (R), 197, 672.
 McKelvey, Blake, "Rochester: The Quest for Quality, 1890-1925," 1019.
 Mackensen, Heinz, communication, 1057.
 MacKinney, L. C. (R), 599.
 McMurry, D. L., "The Great Burlington Strike of 1888," 159.
 McNeil, Gordon (R), 677.
 McNeill, J. T. (R), 115.
 McVaugh, Rogers, "Edward Palmer: Plant Explorer of the American West," 1028.
 Madelin, Louis, deceased, 286.
 Madison, James: Brant, "James Madison: The President, 1809-1812," 936; writings of project, 518.
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 Mancini, Pasquale Stanislaw. *See* Morelli, Emilia.
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 Mangum, Willie Person. *See* Shanks, H. T.
 Manning, Thomas (R), 1028.
 Manuel, F. E., "The New World of Henri Saint-Simon," 388.
Manuscripta, 1051.
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 Marcham, F. G. (R), 121.
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- Mattingly, Harold. *See* Carson, R. A. G.
- Maxwell, R. S., "La Follette and the Rise of the Progressives in Wisconsin," 646.
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- May, H. F. (R), 419.
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- Menon, V. P., "The Story of the Integration of the Indian States," 396.
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- Meyer, H. C. (R), 215, 429.
- Michels, Agnes K. (R), 372.
- Microfilms: Eastman Kodak Company, 274; Finnish documents, 795; Weimar period, 794. *See also* War Documents, American Committee for the Study of.
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 New York State Association of European Historians, 517.
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 Newhall, R. A. (R), 110, 665.
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 Nicolson, William. *See* James, F. G.
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 Norris, J. L. (R), 1019.
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 Notestein, Wallace (R), 93.
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 Nowell, C. E. (R), 453.
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 Nussbaum, F. L. (R), 174.
 Nute, Grace L. (R), 255.
 Nutting, Helen (R), 189.
 Nye, R. B., "A Baker's Dozen: Thirteen Unusual Americans," 1004; (R), 231, 646.
 Oberholzer, Emil, Jr., "Delinquent Saints," 243.
 Obituaries: 286-87, 522-26, 798-802, 1053-55.
 O'Brien, Bickford (R), 221.
 O'Brien, T. H., "Civil Defence," 901.
 Odložilik, Otakar (R), 463.
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 O'Malley, C. D. (R), 212.
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 Ostwald, Paul, "Japans Weg von Genf nach San Franzisko, 1933-1950," 471.

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- Owen, J. B., "The Rise of the Pelhams," 964.
- Owsley, F. L., deceased, 525.
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- Pacific Northwest History Conference, 277.
- Packard, S. R. (R), 381, 663.
- Padover, S. K. (R), 148.
- Painter, Sidney (R), 438, 607.
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- Palm, F. C. (R), 386. *See also* Cox, F. J.
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- Philosophy of history. *See* Historiography.
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- Pinkney, D. H. (R), 450.
- Pinson, K. S. (R), 213.
- Pipes, Richard (R), 138, 989.
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- Ponteil, Félix, "Napoléon I^{er} et l'organisation autoritaire de la France," 203.
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- Poppino, R. E., lists of articles, 260-64, 499-504, 730-34; (R), 259.
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- Portugal. *See* Spain and Portugal.
- Posner, Ernst, lists of articles, 216-17, 459-61, 687-88, 984-85; (R), 952.
- Post, Gaines (R), 959.
- Powell, J. H. (R), 720.
- Powell, P. W. (R), 727, 1032.
- Pratt, Fletcher, deceased, 286.
- Pratt, J. W. (R), 633.
- Preradovich, Nickolaus von, "Die Führungsschichten in Österreich und Preussen (1804-1918)," 390.
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- Pressly, T. J. (R), 156.
- Pressnell, L. S., "Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution," 614.
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- Quesada, A. M. *See* Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca.
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- Quint, H. H. (R), 98, 709.
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- Randall, J. G., and Current, R. N., "Lincoln the President: Last Full Measure," 413.
- Randall, Ruth P., "Lincoln's Sons," 154.
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- Ransom, Harry, "The First Copyright Statute," 443.
- Rasch, Aage, "Dansk Toldpolitik, 1760-1797," 210.
- Rath, R. J. (R), 389.
- Ratner, Sidney (R), 195.
- Rawson, I. M. (tr.). *See* Salvemini, Gaetano.
- Reading, D. K. (R), 466.
- Realey, C. B. (R), 192.
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- Reid, W. S. (R), 435.
- Religion: Bromiley, "Thomas Cranmer, Theologian," 188; Carter, "Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches," 419; French, "Charles I and the Puritan Upheaval," 119; Höss, "Georg Spalatin, 1484-1545," 458; Kingdon, "Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563," 449; Klibansky and Bascour, "Nicolai de Cusa, De Pace Fidei," 439; Koyré, "Mystiques, spirituels, alchimistes du xvi^e siècle allemand," 212; Lewis, "The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians," 656; Petry, "Christian Eschatology and Social Thought," 115; Thomson, ed., "Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de Ecclesia," 666; Watt, "Muhammad at Medina," 605; Weinlick, "Count Zinzendorf," 213; Zeitlin, "Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship," 103. *See also* Church history; Intellectual history; Jewish history; Roman Catholic Church.
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- Rhodes, James Ford. *See* Garraty, J. A.
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- Richter, Werner, "Ludwig II. König von Bayern," 981.
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- Riesenberg, P. N., "Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought," 434.
- Rife, C. W. (R), 245.
- "Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany," by Jarman, 621.
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- "Rise of the Pelhams," by Owen, 964.
- Rister, C. C., "Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier," 492.
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- Robbins, Caroline (R), 888.
- Roberts, David (R), 671.
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- Robinson, Howard (R), 370, 965.
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- Rosenberg, Hans (R), 112.
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- Sellers, J. L. (R), 1026.
- Serfdom. *See* Blum, Jerome.
- Serra, Junípero. *See* Englebert, Omer.
- Service Center for Teachers of History, 272.
- Setton, K. M. (R), 95.
- Severin, M. R., communication, 802.
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- Seybold, Catharine, 289.
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- Smith, C. W., "Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion," 92.
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- Smith, J. M., "Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties," 151.
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- Speiser, E. A. (R), 178.
- Spinka, Matthew, "The Church in Soviet Russia," 992.
- Spitz, Lewis (R), 439.
- Spring, David (R), 614.
- Squire, F. H., deceased, 286.
- Stacey, C. P., "Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain, and the Pacific," 167.
- Stackpole, E. J., "They Met at Gettysburg," 940.
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- Starr, C. G. (R), 180.
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- Stauffer, A. P., "The Quartermaster Corps: Operations in the War against Japan," 713.
- Stavrianos, L. S. (R), 711.
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- Stebbins, R. P. (ed.), "The United States in World Affairs, 1954," 632.
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- Steiner, Zara S. (R), 965.
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- Stern, Fritz (ed.), "The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present," 652.
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- Stewart, J. H. (R), 903.
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- "Struggle for the Indian Stream Territory," by Brown, 245.
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- Sukebatur. *See* Lattimore, Owen.
- Summers, Natalia G., deceased, 1054.
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- Roman Army in the Republican Period," 432.
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- Swain, J. W. (R), 124, 655.
- Swanberg, W. A., "Sickles the Incredible," 235.
- Swart, K. W. (R), 475.
- "Sweden, A History of," by Andersson, 456.
- Swift, Jonathan, "An Enquiry into the Behavior of the Queen's Last Ministry," 444.
- Switzerland. *See* Germany, Austria, Switzerland.
- Sylvain, Robert, "La vie et l'oeuvre de Henry de Courcy (1820-1861)," 233.
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- Taylor, C. H. (R), 608.
- Taylor, G. E. (R), 631.
- Taylor, G. R., and Neu, Irene D., "The American Railroad Network, 1861-1890," 705.
- Taylor, Lily R. (R), 107.
- Taylor, Virginia H., "The Spanish Archives of the General Land Office of Texas," 259.
- Technical history. *See* Science and technology.
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- Thomas, B. P., deceased, 800.
- Thomas, L. H., "The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870-97," 196.
- Thomas, M. H. (ed.), "Elias Boudinot's Journey to Boston in 1809," 244.
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- Tierney, Brian (R), 434.
- Timmons, B. N., "Jesse H. Jones: The Man and the Statesman," 713.
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- Torrey, G. H., communication, 804.

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- Treadgold, D. W. (R), 221.
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- Turner, G. B. (R), 481, 601.
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- Underhill, Ruth M., "The Navajos," 256.
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- Upper Midwest History Conference, 277.
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- Usher, A. P. (R), 126, 661.
- Vagts, Alfred, "Defense and Diplomacy: The Soldier and the Conduct of Foreign Relations," 601; (R), 908; communication, 288.
- Vakar, N. P., "Belorussia, the Making of a Nation," 138.
- Valeri, Nino, "Da Giolitti a Mussolini: Momenti della crisi del liberalismo," 461.
- Vallinkoski, J., and Schauman, Henrik (eds.), "Suomen Historiallinen Bibliografia," I, 455.
- Van Cleve, T. C. (R), 185, 186, 377.
- Van Der Meer, Frederic, "Atlas of Western Civilization," 426.
- Van Deusen, G. G. (R), 717.
- Vandiver, F. E., "Rebel Brass," 940.
- Van Duzer, C. H. (R), 385.
- Van Leur, J. C., "Indonesian Trade and Society," 229.

- Van Nostrand, J. J. (R), 657.
- Van Nuffel, Robert (ed.), "Giovanni Berchet: Lettere alla Marchesa Costanza Arconati, I, febbraio 1822-luglio 1833," 688.
- Van Tassel, D. D. (R), 1012.
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- "Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present," ed. by Stern, 652.
- Vaughan, F. L., "The United States Patent System," 162.
- Venturi, Franco, "Il moto Decabrista e i fratelli Poggio," 691.
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- Vernadsky, George (R), 136, 610.
- Ver Steeg, C. L. (R), 146.
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- Villa, Nicole, *et al.*, "Siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770-1871: Collection de Vinck, inventaire analytique, Tome VII, La Révolution de 1848 et la Deuxième République," 450.
- Villari, Luigi, "Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini," 218.
- Vinacke, H. M., "Far Eastern Politics in the Postwar Period," 142; (R), 604.
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- Von Laue, T. H. (R), 428.
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- Vucinich, W. S. (R), 990.
- Wachman, Marvin (R), 929.
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- Wade-Evans, A. W., "The Emergence of England and Wales," 436.
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- Waite, R. G. L. (R), 214.
- Walcott, Robert, Jr., "English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century," 192; (R), 897.
- Walker, C. H., deceased, 522.
- Walker, R. L. (R), 397, 630.
- Waller, G. M. (R), 246.
- Wallis, C. L. (ed.), "Autobiography of Peter Cartwright," 477.
- Walpole, Horatio. *See* Murray, J. J.
- Walters, Everett (R), 236.
- Walters, Raymond, Jr., *The James Gallatin Diary: A Fraud?* 878-85.
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- War Documents, American Committee for the Study of, 273; report, 792.
- Wardlow, Chester, "The Transportation Corps: Movements, Training, and Supply," 481.
- Washington, Patty, 272.
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- We Shall Gladly Teach*, by Perkins, 291-309.
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- "Webb, Beatrice, Diaries 1924-1932," ed. by Cole, 444.
- Webb, W. P. (R), 594.
- Weber, Hermann, "Die Politik des Kurfürsten Karl Theodor von der Pfalz während des österreichischen Erbfolgekrieges (1742-1748)," 459.
- Wei, Henry, "China and Soviet Russia," 604.
- "Weimarer Republik, Studien zur Geschichte der," by Zimmermann, 685.
- Weinberg, G. L. (R), 430, 955.
- Weinlick, J. R., "Count Zinzendorf," 213.
- Weis, Eberhard, "Geschichtsschreibung und Staatsauffassung in der französischen Enzyklopädie," 973.
- Weisenburger, F. P. (R), 252.
- Welles, C. B. (R), 655.
- Wentker, Hermann, "Sizilien und Athen: Die Begegnung der attischen Macht mit den Westgriechen," 655.

- Werner, H. O., Wise, S. F., and Preston, R. A., "Men in Arms," 600.
- Wertheim, W. F., "Indonesian Society in Transition," 923.
- "West of Philip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895," by Young, 256.
- Westergaard, Waldemar (R), 210, 436, 960.
- Westemeier, C. P. (R), 1028.
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- William of Ockham. *See* Offer, H. S.
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- Williams, T. H. (R), 153.
- Williams, W. A., *A Note on Charles Austin Beard's Search for a General Theory of Causation*, 59-80.
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- Wilson, A. M. (R), 973.
- Wilson, C. R. (R), 247.
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- Windell, G. G. (R), 981.
- Winkler, H. R. (R), 901.
- Winther, O. O. (R), 638.
- Wise, S. F., Preston, R. A., and Werner, H. O., "Men in Arms," 600.
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- Wiskemann, Elizabeth, "Germany's Eastern Neighbours," 391.
- Wittfogel, K. A. (R), 226.
- Wittke, Carl, "The German-Language Press in America," 929; "The Irish in America," 158; (R), 401, 927, 1006.
- Wittrock, Georg, deceased, 1054.
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- Worcester, D. E. (R), 259.
- World Affairs Programs on Radio-TV seminar workshop, 517.
- World War I. *See* International relations; Woodrow Wilson.
- World War II: Behrens, "Merchant Shipping and the Demands of War," 195; Benoist-Méchin, "Soixante jours qui ébranlèrent l'occident, 10 mai-10 juillet 1940," 3 vols. 906; Blake, "Northern Ireland in the Second World War," 968; Braubach, "Einmarsch deutscher Truppen in die entmilitarisierte Zone am Rhein im März 1936: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges," 430; De Jong, "The German Fifth Column in the Second World War," 214; Ehrman, "Grand Strategy, V, August 1943-September 1944," 899; Freund, ed., "Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Dokumenten, III, Der Ausbruch des Krieges 1939," 954; Goutard, "1940: La guerre des occasions perdues," 906; Hall and Wrigley, "Studies of Overseas Supply," 901; Hammond, "Food, II, Studies in Administration and Control," 901; Herington, "Air War against Germany and Italy, 1939-1943," 199; Korbonski, "Fighting Warsaw: The Story of the Polish Underground State, 1939-1945," 990; Leighton and Coakley, "Global Logistics and Strategy: 1940-1943," 238; Lundin, "Finland in the Second World War," 916; Morison, "The Atlantic Battle Won, May, 1943-May, 1945," 481; Murray, "Agriculture," 901; Nicholson, "The Canadians in Italy, 1943-1945," 967; O'Brien, "Civil Defense," 901; Sayers, "Financial Policy, 1939-45," 901; Scott and Hughes, "The Administration of War Production," 901; Skodvin, "Striden om Okkupasjonsstyret i Norge fram til 25. September 1940," 682; Smith, "The Medical Department: Hospitalization and Evacuation, Zone of Interior," 1014; Stacey, "Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain, and the Pacific," 167; Stauffer, "The Quartermaster Corps: Operations in the War against Japan," 713; Terrett, "The Signal Corps: The Emergency (to December 1941)," 712; Wardlow, "The Transportation Corps: Movements, Training, and Supply," 481; Whitney, "MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History," 163; Young, "Congressional Politics in the Second World War," 238. *See also* International relations.
- Worley, T. R. (R), 1023.
- Wright, A. F. (R), 918.
- Wright, Conrad (R), 232.
- Wright, Gordon (R), 132.
- Wright, L. B., "The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763," 931; (R), 122, 1018.
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- Wyman, W. D. (R), 408.
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- Younger, Edward (R), 154.
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- Zagorin, Perez, *Professor Becker's Two Histories: A Skeptical Fallacy*, 1-11.

- Zagorin's Interpretation of Becker: Some Observations*, by Gershoy, 12-17.
- Zaleski, Eugène, "Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes, La Russie," I, 466.
- Zeeveld, W. G. (R), 669.
- Zeitlin, Solomon, "Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship," 103; communication, 805.
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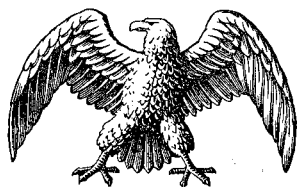
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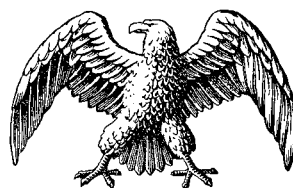
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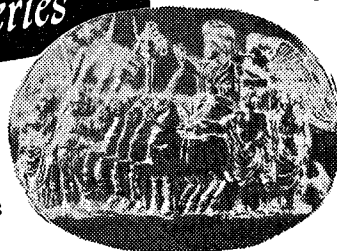
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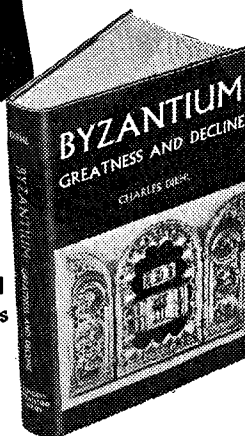
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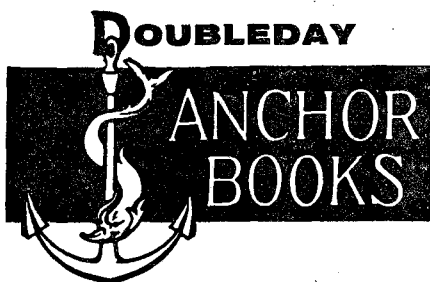
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